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Morley's Hotel. London Oct. 11. 1850

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Cambridge. Mass.

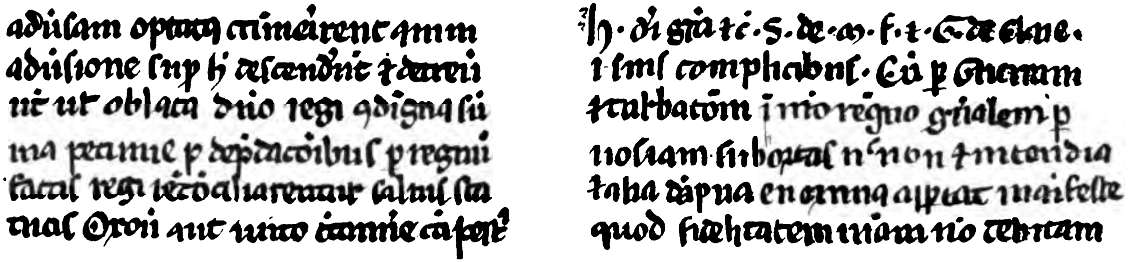
My Dear Sir.

I have just this minute received your letter of the 25th Sept. respecting the Books presented through me to your library by my friend Mr. Halliwell. The parcel as you recd. it is quite right. The fact is. Mr. Halliwell has given the books as they were published to his brother. on whose death they reverted to the Author. As the works are nearly a complete collection of his productions. & belonging once to his brother. he thought he would like to place them where they would be preserved in some public library in America. I suggested Harvard College Library to him & he sent me the parcel to forward. This is all. & I am glad you have received them safely. – There is no mistake about it. Only I ought to have written you advising you of my having sent the parcel.

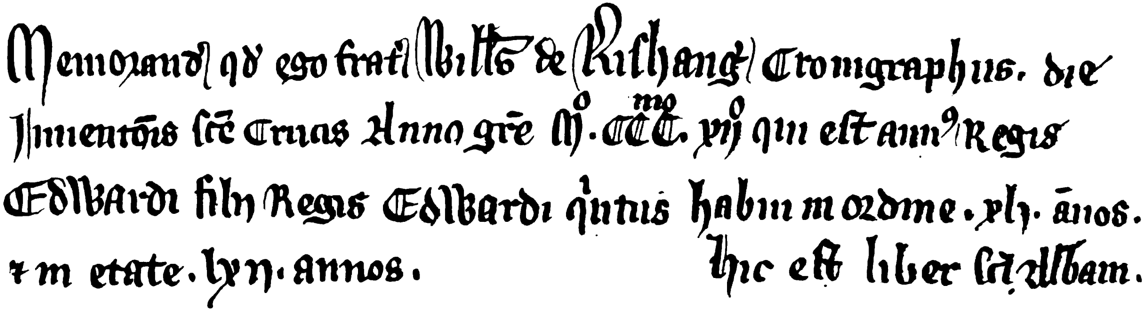
I was under the same impression as yourself & wrote Mr. Halliwell. He told me what I have repeated to you.

Believe me
Yours sincerely
Henry Stevens.

Fac-Simile from fol. 103 of the MS. of Rishanger's Chronicle.



Autographical Memorandum by Rishanger from MS. Bib. Reg. 14. C. I.



Memorand' qd ego frat' Will's de Rishang' Cronigraphus. die
Inuentionis sc̄e Crucis Anno gr̄e M°. CCCmo. xij° qui est Annus Regis
Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi quintus habui in ordine .xlj. ān̄os.
& in etate .lxij. annos. Hic est liber sc̄i Albani.

Richard Halliwell Esq
from his affectionate brother
The Editor

THE CHRONICLE OF
WILLIAM DE RISHANGER,
OF
THE BARONS' WARS.
THE
MIRACLES OF SIMON DE MONTFORT.

EDITED FROM MANUSCRIPTS IN THE COTTONIAN LIBRARY,

BY

JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, ESQ. F.R.S., F.S.A.
F.R.A.S, M.R.S.L., SECRETARY OF THE CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY, ETC. ETC. ETC.

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INTRODUCTION.

For centuries the monastery of St. Alban was celebrated for its historians. Wendover, Paris, and Rishanger[*] were the principal writers who sustained its reputation in the thirteenth century, and pursued their labours under the shelter of its walls. Of the last we know little, save that, on the death of Matthew Paris in 1259, he was appointed Historiographer[†] to King Henry

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[*] Wendover is the alleged author of the history which goes under the name of Matthew Paris as far as the year 1234. One copy only of the chronicle so attributed is preserved, viz. in the Douce collection at Oxford, and will shortly be published under the editorial care of the Rev. H. O. Coxe. Another copy was formerly in the Cottonian library (Otho, B. v.), but it unfortunately was destroyed in the fire. We shall afterwards enter more particularly into the subject of the claim of Wendover. The history of Matthew Paris extended to 1259, when it was taken up by Rishanger and continued to 1322. These are termed *the great chronicles of St. Alban*, by an anonymous writer, in MS. Cotton. Vitell. A. xx. fol. 77, r°. who gives a short abridgment from them.

[†] It is not, I believe, known when the office of Historiographer Royal was first instituted in this country. Bale (iv. 94) quotes Pon-

III. and probably continued in that office to the time of his death.* Certain, however, it is, that on the 3rd of May 1312, Rishanger was sixty-two years of age, and had then been a Benedictine † monk of St. Alban's for forty-one years; and we learn this fact from the following memorandum in MS. Bib. Reg. 14 C. I. which is in his own handwriting: ‡—" Memorandum quod ego frater Willelmus de Rishanger cronigraphus, die Inventionis Sanctæ Crucis, anno gratiæ M.ccc.xij., qui est annus regis Edwardi filii regis Edwardi quintus, habui in ordine xlj. annos et in ætate lxij. annos." Bale had evidently seen this note when he wrote his brief notice of Rishanger; § and his assertion that the historian *flourished in* 1312, has been converted by Pits to *died about* 1312, and by

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ticus Virunnius in an inquiry which bears on the custom of sovereigns having their histories written for the benefit of posterity, and in such a manner as to preclude the possibility of the authors being swayed by the opinions of the reigning monarch. Cf. præf. ad Mat. Par.

* Vossius de Hist. Lat. p. 790. Cf. Bale, iv. 94, et Pits, 403.

† St. Alban's was a Benedictine monastery.

‡ A fac-simile of this curious note, together with a specimen from the chronicle itself, will be found at the commencement of the volume. See also Casley's Catalogue of the Royal Library, p. 230.

§ His words are, " Claruit anno a Christi Jesu natalitio 1312, annos ætatis habens 62, in monachatu vero 41, sub prædicto rege Edwardo secundo, in suo tandem cœnobio sepultus."—Edit. Basil. 1557, p. 377.

Tanner that he *died in* 1312.* But as Walsingham, who is not likely to have made an undue confession of his plagiarism, expressly states, under the year 1322, that the preceding portion of his chronicle is abridged from Rishanger, it is but fair to conclude that Rishanger's continuation of Paris ended in that year; † and as there appears to be no alleged reason for an abrupt conclusion, the probability is, taking his advanced age into consideration, that he died in that year, or very shortly afterwards. The following is a complete list of his writings, as far as the MSS. which remain have enabled us to discover.‡

1. OPUS CHRONICORUM.—Cf. Bale, iv. 94; Pits, 403, (458). This chronicle extends from 1261 to 1293, and

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* This statement is followed by Newcome, in his History of St. Alban's, p. 173, probably on the authority of Tanner, though not any is cited.

† Walsingham seems to say that the chronicles of Rishanger were at St. Alban's in his time:—"Cætera qui voluerit videre plenius, in chronicis Wilhelmi Risanger apud Sanctum Albanum latius poterit reperire, ubi recordatum regis habetur de omnibus memoratis."—Edit. 1603, p. 116. It may be as well to observe that the MS. Arund. Coll. Arm. N°. 7, p. 121, reads *plenius* instead of *latius*, which is the only variation from the printed edition that the MSS. afford. Cf. MS. Bib. Reg. 13 E. IX. fol. 214, r°, *a*.

‡ I may observe that all these are mentioned by Bale, though with several errors. His list is, as usual, copied by Pits; and the mistakes of both are left uncorrected by Tanner.

was undertaken at the request of abbat John de Hertford. A copy of it is preserved in MS. Cotton. Claud. D. VI.:—"Incipit liber cronicorum editus ad instantiam venerabilis patris nostri domini Johannis, Dei gratia abbatis hujus ecclesiæ;"—fol. 115, r°, β. He vouches for his veracity in the following terms:—"Quicquid vero de recentioribus ætatibus apposui, vel ipse vidi, vel a fidedignis viris audivi." Pits* says, that he thought this work was in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; but he has confounded it with a copy of King Edward's letter to Pope Boniface.

2. ANNALES REGNI EDWARDI I. In MS. Bib. Reg. 14 C. I. fol. 4, v°, α.—19, v°, β; where it is entitled "Quædam recapitulatio brevis de gestis domini Edwardi regis, cum quibusdam aliis accidentibus in tempore suo." This work was written after Edward's death—"post obitum domini Edwardi, illustris regis Angliæ, recapitulando in genere et compendiose concludendo, frater Willelmus de Rissanger cronicator, de multis pauca tangendo, ad Dei honorem et animæ regiæ recommendationem redigit in scripturam;"—fol. 4, v°, α. A particular mention of the death of Prince Alfonso occurs, and a few verses on that event. A brief life of the sanctified Louis is also intro-

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* De Scriptoribus, 403 (458).

duced. Bale gives the title of this work with a different incipit,—" Anno domini M. ccc. vij. nonas Julii;" most probably confounding it with the chronicle of John de Trokelowe in MS. Claud. D. VI., which commences with those words.* This MS. has been used by Stowe (MS. Harl. 545, fol. 117), and is partly written by the same scribe who has preserved the History of the Barons' Wars.

3. DE CONTROVERSIA HABITA SUPER ELECTIONEM SCOTORUM REGIS. In MS. Cotton. Claud. D. VI. fol. 135, r°, α.—v°, β. This is a brief relation of Edward's proceedings at Norham.

4. CONTINUATIO CHRONICORUM MATTHÆI PARISII. This work, which has already been mentioned, contains a chronicle of English affairs from A.D. 1259 to A.D. 1322.† Unfortunately no perfect copy of it is known to exist; but the following MSS. contain some portions:—(1.) MS. Bib. Bodl. 462, Bern. 2454; from 1259 to 1272,

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* Trokelowe's chronicle is thus entitled in the MS. " Incipiunt annales regis Edwardi filii Edwardi filii Henrici Tercii,"—fol. 192. r°, α; and this may have misled Bale to consider the chronicle as belonging to the time of Edward I. To reconcile the dates, he has printed the incipit as follows:—" Anno Domini M. ccc., vij. nonas Julii." Cf. Tanner, p. 634.

† " Ad sua tempora."—Vossius de Hist. p. 790. Brian Twyne, with no reason, appears to doubt the authenticity of this work; see *De antiquitate Acad. Oxon. apologia*, p. 166.

with Walsingham's continuation. (2.) MS. Bib. Reg. 14 C. VII; from 1259 to 1272. (3.) MS. Cotton. Faust. B. IX.; from 1259 to 1306, ατελ. (4.) MS. Cotton. Claud. E. III. fol. 306—331; from 1259 to 1297. (5.) MS.C.C.C.C. N°. 56; from 1259 to 1272. The earlier part to A.D. 1272, has been printed by Wats at the end of his edition of Matthew Paris;* and the remainder has partly found its way into the pages of Walsingham's chronicle.

5. DE JURE REGIS ANGLORUM AD SCOTIAM. Rishanger, as historiographer royal, was employed to prepare the historical authorities on this subject; and his researches were embodied in Edward's letter to Pope Boniface, printed in the Fœdera, ii. 883.† The fabulous

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* Tyrrell (Hist. ii. 1017) blames Rishanger for his incorrect dates, but the blame attaches itself properly to his editor; for in most MSS. of this work the dates are correctly given.

† Numerous copies are in MS. It may be sufficient to refer to MS. Bib. Reg. 14 C. I.; MS. C. C. C. C. 292; and MS. Cotton. Nero, E. v; which last is thus entitled,—"Origo et processus gentis Scotorum, ac de dominio et superioritate quæ ex antiquissimis temporibus et a primævo habuerunt incliti reges Angliæ super regnum illud; ita quod ex eorum prerogativa illud sæpius ipsorum fidelibus, prout placuit, libere contulerunt."—fol. 191, r°, a. The place whence this letter is dated is given "Kemeseye" in both editions of the *Fœdera;* and Tyrrell is puzzled about this name (iii. 148); but perhaps it should be "Rameseye," as in MS. Addit. 10,099, fol. 233, v°. Toward the close of the year 1300, Edward sent writs to the abbats

pages of Geoffry of Monmouth are here treated as matters of real history, and quoted as authority. From a copy of this letter, preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, it would seem that Rishanger was assisted in his task :—" Willelmus Rishanger et alii colligunt quam plurima regnum Scotiæ concernentia, et ejus subjectionem regno Angliæ," MS. C. C. C. C. 110, p. 131. It is, indeed, known that materials were collected from various libraries.* The following verses are added to the original copy of this letter in MS. Bib. Reg. 14 C. I. fol. 4, r°, β.

" *De ista materia cronigraphus metrice scribens breviter sic ait.*

" Edwardus, rex Angliæ, Scotos expugnavit;
Eorum hostiliter vires enervavit;
Walliam et Scotiam sibi subjugavit;
Willelmus Wales, dux Scotorum, latitavit.

" Tandem captus, vinculis strictis mancipatur,
Et ductus Londoniæ, ibi judicatur;

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of several monasteries, " ut diligenter scrutarentur cronica sua, et omnia gesta reges Anglorum et Scotorum tangentia." MS. Claud. D. VI. fol. 179, r°, β; cf. Nicolas's Synopsis, p. 783. In MS. Claud. D. VI., are given the excerpta " de cronicis sancti Albani," which form a constituent part of the King's letter. The writ which was sent to the abbat of St. Alban's is copied in the same MS. fol. 179, r°, α. Cf. MS. Cotton. Claud. A. XII. fol. 148, r°.

* MS. Claud. D. VI. Cf. Tyrrell, iii. 142.

Tractusque suspensus est, tandem decollatur; *
Qui primo risit, post hæc merito lacrimatur!

"Talis in memoria rex sit sempiterna,
Qui rebelles subditos compulit æterna
Sua mala plangere novaque moderna;
In cœlis anima requiescat pace superna!"

6. DE BELLIS LEWES ET EVESHAM. In MS. Cotton. Claudius, D. VI. This is the chronicle printed in the following pages, and treats of several other matters beside these two conflicts. No other copy of it is known to exist; but the incipit given by Bale slightly varies from the present, in having *prava* instead of *incommendabilis*, and perhaps he may have seen another manuscript now lost.

7. ANNALES REGNI SCOTIÆ. In MS. Cotton. Claud. D. VI.† This is a curious work, treating principally of the disputes relative to the Scottish crown in the reign of Edward I., and of that monarch's invasion of Scot-

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* It is stated by some that he was drawn, hanged, embowelled while still alive, and quartered. This was the common punishment of traitors at that time, although from the above it would seem that in Wallace's case it was not so severe. See, however, Keightley's History of England, vol. i. p. 488, where will be found some useful and sensible observations on the execution of Wallace.

† Cf. MS. Bib. Reg. 14 C. I.

land. *Incip.* "Convenientibus apud Norham." Cf. Bale, iv. 94.

The manuscripts to which I have so often alluded, under the references Bibl. Reg. 14 C. I., and Bibl. Cotton. Claud. D. VI., were formerly in the cœnobium of St. Alban's, and most probably contain the whole of Rishanger's minor writings; at least no allusion appears to be made to any work not contained in these volumes, with the exception of his continuation of Matthew Paris. In speaking of the MS. Bibl. Reg. 14 C. I., I would be understood to refer only to the *first nineteen leaves* of the volume, for the remaining portion has belonged to a MS. of another date. It may be observed, then, of these two manuscripts, that they are partly written by the same scribe, that each has precisely the same sized leaf,[*] and that traces of the same kind of vellum[†] occur in both of them. I am inclined to believe, taking the small extent of the former manuscript into consideration, that they were both originally in one volume; and, if so, how curious a fact is it that the fragments should have again been accidentally brought under the same roof! When or how these MSS. disappeared from St. Alban's is not known, but it is probable that they were not there in Leland's time, or they would perhaps have been mentioned by him, and he notices the theft of the autograph MS. of Matthew Paris's chronicle.*

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[*] Measuring 12⅔ inches by 8½.

[†] In MS. Bibl. Reg. 14 C. I., the first eleven leaves are ornamented with three perpendicular bands of triple colours on each page. In the other manuscript, we find ff. 1—96 and ff. 115—191, distinguished in the same manner. Moreover, the remarkable biographical notice of Rishanger, already copied in p. vi. has been evidently cut off from the first page of the manuscript in Claud. D. VI. from which the present work has been printed.

The independent authorities which have been adduced for the attributing the continuation of Matthew Paris to Rishanger are few; nor have I succeeded in adding many to the number. The MS. Arund. Coll. Arm. N°. 3. fol. 194, r°, contains extracts, of the beginning of the fifteenth century, from Rishanger's continuation, of the date of 21 Edw. I., 1293.† But the large volume of St. Alban's monastery in MS. Cotton. Claud. E. IV., contains the most direct and important testimony; after mentioning Wendover and Paris, the writer says,—"post Matheum, Willelmus Risangre, Henricus Blankfrount, Symon Bynham, et Ricardus Savage cronica successive scripserunt."—fol. 332, v°, α, β. The two last are now unknown as authors, but their names are important as filling the chasm in the list of the Verulamian historians: most probably their labours have been transferred to the pages of Walsingham.* A short piece by Henry Blancford, or Blankfrount, on the truce between Edward II. and Robert Bruce in 1323, is preserved in MS. Claud. D. vi., and has been printed by Hearne: and its date is an additional argument that Rishanger did not continue his chronicle beyond the year 1322, especially as Blancford is expressly mentioned as the immediate successor to Rishanger in the line of the chroniclers. The entire absence of Trokelowe's name in this list affords ground for another doubt, whether he really were the author of the chronicle in MS. Claud. D. vi. from A.D. 1307 to A.D. 1323, and whether Bale may not after all be correct in assigning it to Rishanger.† It appears to me that the probabilities are, on the whole, in favour of

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* Collectanea, vol. iii. p. 163.

† Joscelin (Catal. Hist. p. 289) mentions an imperfect copy of Rishanger's work in the possession of the archbishop of Canterbury. This MS. is probably in Corpus Christi College,—N°. 348.

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* It is well known that there is very little original matter in the large chronicle of Walsingham; and as he has taken plentifully from Rishanger, and as much as he could from Blancford, I think that it is a fair conjecture that a share of the writings of the other two may be preserved in the same compilation.

† It must be remarked too that Walsingham, Chron. p. 118, mentions the MS. chronicle of Blancford, while he does not notice Trokelowe's chronicle at all.

Rishanger being the author, at least of the earlier portion; and the insertion of another name may be accounted for by supposing that Rishanger was prevented by death from completing his history of the year 1322 or 1323, and that the remainder was then added by another monk. It is very difficult, however, to decide positively in matters of this nature; for, even in the more important case of authorship between Wendover and Paris, the share which the former possesses in the composition of the "magna chronica" is by no means clearly decided. As this question is vitally important in the formation of a correct list of the St. Alban's chroniclers, in which our author shines conspicuously, it cannot be considered irrelevant for me to introduce a few observations on the subject in this place.*

The most authentic account of Wendover's work is preserved in the St. Alban's MS. above quoted:—"In nostro monasterio floruit Rogerus de Wendovere, noster monachus, cui pene debent totius regni cronographi quicquid habent: nam plane et perlucide ab initio mundi per annorum distinctiones digessit cronica sua usque ad tempora regis Henrici a conquestu secundi. Ex post Matheus Parisiensis claruit, qui Rogeri prædicti cronicas necessarie ampliavit."—MS. Claud. E. IV. fol. 332, v°, α. This is sufficiently explicit; and in the only manuscript of Wendover now extant, MS. Douce, 207,* there is a marginal note stating that at the year 1190 a new chronicler continued the work. The probability then is that, after the account of the reign of Henry II., little or nothing of the work of Matthew Paris can be ascribed to

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* The author of a MS. note in the copy of Paris's history, MS. Cotton. Nero, D. v. fol. 1, r°, was probably the earliest writer who started the conjecture of that chronicler's plagiarism. Hanbury, who compiled a catalogue of the Cottonian library in 1706, adds the following note to the account of the MS. of Wendover,—"Transcripsit fere totum Mattheus Paris, nonnulla tamen addens, a morte Eduardi Confessoris incipiens."—MS. Sloan. 4996, p. 73, *a*. Hanbury says that the MS. contained ff. 465.

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* In MS. Sloan. 1301, fol. 177—184, are some excerpta "ex cronico Rogeri Wendover quem doctor Matheus Carew tenuit, mense Martii 1585." That Carew's MS. was the same which is now in the Douce collection, there can scarcely be any reasonable doubt, for the transcriber, at fol, 181, v°, in copying the two lines of poetry which occur at the end of the chronicle, not understanding the word "tenuit" as written in the manuscript, has made a kind of fac-simile of the MS. contraction; and this corresponds with that in the Douce manuscript. The Cottonian MS. was purchased of "Mr. Vincent," as we learn from the original catalogue of the library made in 1621, MS. Harl. 6018, where it is placed under the number 165. Tanner mentions a copy of Wendover formerly belonging to Sir Christopher Heydon. Wendover died on 6th May 1236. See also MS. Bib. Bodl. Collect. James, 28, fol. 121; and MS. Laud, 572.

Wendover. An assertion of Paris himself, whose veracity is unquestionable, inserted in the relation of the events of the year 1213, appears conclusive,—" audiente Matthæo, qui et hæc scripsit et enarravit."—Edit. Wats, p. 245. The single colophon at the end of the Douce MS. is not, I think, to be placed in competition, as an authority, with the express assertion of the writer of the MS. above quoted; who, as a monk of St. Alban's, must have had great facilities for obtaining correct information, and appears to have taken pains to render his work accurate. It seems to me that the difficulty consists in ascertaining *how little* Paris was really indebted to Wendover. That he *was* indebted for some of his materials is certain: but the concurrent testimony of all the writers of the monastery which owned them both, tends to exhibit the latter writer in the light of a very inferior auxiliary.*

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* We should naturally look to Joscelin for some notice of Wendover,—" Rogeri Windori chronicon mentionem facit catalogus quidam vetustissimus."—Catal. Hist. p. 286. Whatever his chronicle was, it had no doubt been considered quite superseded by Paris, and the utmost stretch of probability will not permit us to conjecture that, if the latter had been a plagiarist to any great extent, it would have been left unnoticed by his contemporaries. Paris is called " incomparabilis cronographus, et pictor peroptimus," MS. Cotton. Nero, D. VII. fol. 50, v°, and all the writers of the monastery speak of him as the first historian of that age.

Let us now enter upon the more immediate subject of this Introduction, the wars between Henry the Third and the turbulent Barons. It is unnecessary to treat at length of the history of this period, because works are very easily accessible which will give all the leading facts to any reader who may require them. In the words, then, of my excellent old author, "qualicunque stilo pauca de multis intimare curabo;*" and I hope that no one will expect a philosophizing spirit to pervade a work, intended merely to furnish the details of the events of so short a space of time.

With a single exception, the chronicle now presented to the reader is the only one which treats exclusively of the above-mentioned period. The exception to which I allude is preserved in MS. Cotton. Otho, D. VIII. ff. 214-228,† which contains a succinct but very curious and valuable contemporary history of the Barons' wars, in prose and verse. This MS. formerly belonged to the monastery of Ramsey, and is one of those which suffered in the lamentable fire to which the Cottonian library was exposed in 1731. The accident, however, has not much affected the writing of the manuscript; and, in the part to which we are now referring, there are scarcely a dozen lines wanting, nor has it suffered so much as to be difficult to decypher.* Yet the MS. is described in Planta's Catalogue † as "the remains of a MS. on vellum, in small folio, which once consisted of 267 leaves, now burnt to a crust, and preserved in a case: it contains the lives of many saints, several historical tracts, chronicles, &c." This was not a very inviting description, and had I not been induced by Dr. Smith's description of the manuscript, when in its perfect state,‡ to have examined the "crust," I should have overlooked the most valuable and singular materials for illustrating Rishanger's chronicle, that are any where known to exist. The author of this curious fragment was a monk of

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* Chronicon, p. 2.

† This MS. is for the most part written in double columns. I may here remark that, in distinguishing the different sides of the same leaf of a foliated manuscript, I use the continental notation, r°, and v°; but in distinguishing the different columns of the same page, I have ventured to introduce the Greek letters, α, β, γ, &c. The advantage and neatness of this plan will be at once perceived, for it will prevent the possibility of mistaking the attributes of a column with the *sides* of a leaf as denoted by the old method.

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* Casley's Appendix to the Cottonian Catalogue, p. 315. He calls this MS. a "burnt lump." The leaves were separated and made available to readers about sixteen years ago, but no notice of the repair is indicated in the catalogues in the Reading Room.

† Catalogue of the MSS. in the Cottonian Library, p. 369.

‡ Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum bibliothecæ Cottonianæ, fol. Oxon. 1696, p. 76. The tract is thus entitled,—"Narratio dissensionum inter R. Henricum iii. et proceres, tam prosa quam versibus rhythmiois."

Ramsey monastery, but I have met with nothing that has enabled me to identify his name. He must have written his tract almost immediately after the occurrence of the events which he relates,* for he addresses it to Hugh de Solgrave, abbat of Ramsey, who died in the year 1267 :†—"De hiis cæterisque Angliam nostris temporibus contingentibus, sanctissime pater H.,‡ ad futurorum notitiam, tam metrice quam prosaice, divino ac vestro confisus adjutorio, presens proposui memoriale componere;"—MS. Otho, D. VIII. Frag. Pars IV. fol. 214, v°, α, β. The catalogue of the library of Ramsey monastery, MS. Cotton. Cart. Antiq. ii. 16, which was made not long after this period, contains no notice of this MS.; at least, no notice sufficiently minute to enable us to identify it, although it may possibly form one of the "cronica" or "gesta regum" which occur in that catalogue. Our Ramsey chronicler quotes Virgil and Plato, and works of these authors are among the "libri fratris Roberti Dodford;" but this, I think, can scarcely be adjudged a sufficient ground to form even a conjecture; although perhaps Dodford, of all known writers who belonged to the monastery of Ramsey, is the most likely to have been the author of the treatise under consideration.

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* He refers to Matthew Paris for the previous history to 1258 :—"cujus (i. e. Henrici) usque ad xlij. annum regni sui, si quis scire gesta voluerit, magistri Mathiæ monachi de sancto Albano cronica digesta requirat; ibi qualiter castrum Bedfordiæ expugnaverit, qualiter sanctus Edmundus archiepiscopus exulavit, qualiter duxerit, et multa alia Angliam suis temporibus contingencia, diligens lector poterit investigare."—MS. Cotton. Otho, D. VIII. Frag. fol. 214, v°, β.

† Monasticon, vol. ii. p. 549.

‡ I ought perhaps to remark, that it is on this initial letter alone that I have grounded my assertion that the author addresses himself to Hugh de Solgrave. That the writer was a monk of Ramsey, and that Solgrave is the only abbat of the monastery about that period whose name commences with the letter H. are proofs sufficient.

Rishanger himself has treated of the history of this period more than once, although very variedly, and with an evident desire to give as little repetition as possible. In some cases, indeed, he has repeated the same circumstances, and several relations in his continuation of Matthew Paris may be found, though generally with considerable amplification, in his other writings. Thus the answer of William of Valence to complaints against him or his followers, finds a place in our chronicle, and also in our author's continuation of Matthew Paris;* but the singular anecdote of the death of the woman's hen, related in the same page, belongs exclusively to the former work. This chronicle, indeed, derives great importance from its character of originality. Sir Robert Cotton * is apparently the only person who has given it any attention, but the scraps he has drawn from it are very few and of little importance. The difficulty of the MS. text may be alleged as the principal reason that so curious and choice a record has been suffered to

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* In Ayscough's Catalogue of the MSS. in Tenison's library in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, MS. Addit. 5017*, p. 7, mention is made of a copy of Matthew Paris's chronicle, with a continuation to the year 1323. On consulting the MS. itself, however, I found that it was only a copy of the compilation of Matthew of Westminster to the year 1307, and a continuation by another hand to the year 1320;

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which last has the following title:—" Incipiunt gesta temporum Edwardi regis secundi a conquestu, filii regis Edwardi primi a conquestu, qui fuit sextus eorum regum qui a comitibus Andegavensibus duxerunt originem secundum lineam masculinam."—fol. 6, (v°, β, a fin.) This MS. commences ακεφ. in the history of the year 1058, and is much abridged in the latter part. On fol. 3, (r°, α, a fin.) some one has written, " obiit Rishanger anno 1312," but this is in a hand of the seventeenth century. It may be as well to remark that Leland does not mention Rishanger at all, which is an additional reason for presuming that the MSS. of his works were not at St. Alban's at the time of his visit to that monastery.

* View of the Life and Reign of Henry the Third, 12mo. Lond. 1658. Very slightly indeed has Cotton referred to our chronicle, but sufficiently to show that he had consulted it. Cotton finished this work on the 29th April, 1614 (MS. Sloan. 3073, fol. 84, r°), and when the state of historical research at that period is considered, coupled with his expressed intention of compiling a mere sketch, it cannot be expected that he should have made any extensive use of minute historical facts. His little work was, however, exceedingly popular, and passed through several editions; there are also numerous MS. copies of it.

remain so long undisturbed. Indeed, the task of editing this Chronicle has been attended with peculiar difficulties, from the circumstance of its being known to exist only in one Manuscript, which is remarkable alike for the badness and obscurity of its penmanship, and for the evident ignorance of its scribe as to the sense of what he was copying. It has in consequence become necessary to adopt a greater freedom of correction than is now generally admitted in modern editorship, and in some instances even to form a conjecture upon the sense of the author. A few of the more important of these deviations are stated in the Notes; but a scrupulous specification of every discrepancy in the original was, from the nature of the MS., scarcely possible, even if desirable. I am so sensible of these defects, and of the uncertainty of conjecture in matters of this nature, that I have added references to the manuscript itself on the margin of my text, in order that any reader, to whom the subject is of sufficient importance, may compare the original for himself.

So completely was the scribe uninformed of the scope of the historian's work, that at fol. 105, v°, in the middle of the first column, he leaps at once from the battle of Lewes to the events which ensued after the battle of Evesham; whilst afterwards, in the middle of fol. 110, v°, after conducting the reader to a period even two years later than the battle of Evesham, he has most confusedly, without even a break in the language, returned to the war in the marches of Wales, which ensued shortly after the battle of Lewes. There is besides a disjointed passage at fol. 106, 7, the insertion of which is inexplicable, except either on the supposition that this MS. was not intended for a fair copy, or that it was the work of a very ignorant hand.

In the present edition, these several breaks in the narrative are indicated by lines drawn across the pages; whilst the extraordinary chronological misarrangement has been rectified (see pp. 35, 47). It is believed that very little of Rishanger's work is actually deficient. For whatever errors may yet have escaped the Editor, he must solicit the indulgence of his readers, and he here takes the opportunity of returning his best and grateful thanks to John Gough Nichols, Esq. F.S.A., whose assistance has throughout, been of the greatest value, and to whom the editor is indebted for several material communications and corrections.

I have annexed to Rishanger's Chronicle a collection of Miracles (from MS. Cotton. Vespas. A. vi.) attributed to the great hero of the history by the monks with whom his remains rested. Such are curious memorials of the fame and popularity of one who perhaps contributed more than any other towards the establishment of the grand principles upon which our constitution is founded. Montfort "was the instrument of disclosing to the world that great institution of representation which was to introduce into popular governments a regularity and order far more perfect than had heretofore been purchased by submission to absolute power, and to draw forth liberty from confinement in single cities to a fitness for being spread over territories which, experience does not forbid us to hope, may be as vast as have ever been grasped by the iron gripe of a despotic conqueror."* History, however, has treated his memory with severity;† and no writer has yet arisen to weigh with a careful and impartial hand the prominent part which he took in the constitutional wars of the time. Such a task is difficult, for all contemporary writers are either his zealous partizans or bitter adversaries. That Leicester, especially in the latter part of his career, was actuated partly by interest and ambition, can scarcely be doubted; but the manner in which he commenced his agitations, and his abandonment of advantages to himself for the amelioration of the condition of the people, are sufficient to show to a certain extent the purity of his motives, and to take away from him the ignoble title of traitor:—"et sciendum quod nemo sani capitis debet censere neque appellare Simonem nomine proditoris. Non enim fuit proditor, sed Dei ecclesiæ in Anglia devotissimus cultor et fidelissimus protector, regni Anglorum scutum et defensor, alienigenarum inimicus et expulsor, quamvis ipse natione unus esset ex illis."* That miracles should be attributed to him was consonant with the feelings and customs of the time, and sometimes persons of a much inferior reputation were admitted to a share of popular canonization.† As relations of alleged facts, these narratives are of course worthless; but they are curious as evidence of the state of feeling and manners, and their incidental notices of persons and places are occasionally valuable.* The following extract from the Brute Chronicle, which is taken from the best manuscript of it known to exist, is applicable and explanatory:—"Wanne king Herry hadde the victori at Evesham, and Simonde the erle was y-sley by the helpe of Gilberte off Clare, erle of Gloucestre, the wiche was in the warde of the foreseid Simon by the assignemente of kynge Herry. And afterward the same Gilberte was with king Herry in the forseide bateille of Evesham, were-thurgh the forseide Simon was destroiedde; and thatt was grete harme to the comens of Englonde, thatt so gode man was destroiedde, ffor he was dede for the comenne profite of the same ffolke, and therefore God hathe schewed ffor him many grete miracules to diverse ffolkes of her maladies and grevawnce, werefore thei have be heledde." This is taken from

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* Mackintosh's History of England, vol. i. p. 238.

† "Honour and affection to the memory of that great man! Mysterious providence, indeed, permitted rampant tyranny to glut its eyes with the spectacle of his mangled limbs; and worse—the poisonous breath of historic slander has for centuries infected his name: revolution after revolution has triumphantly reasserted the principles for which he laboured, fought, and fell; yet without reversing the calumnious attainder. But, on our historical, as on our political hemisphere, a new dawn is arising: and among the darkened memories which the coming day shall gild with genial and grateful beams, few shall shine more fairly than that of De Montfort."—*London and Westminster Review*, vol. ix. p. 490-1.

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* Chronicon de Mailros, p. 228.

† So in Rot. Pat. 17 Edw. II., we find a writ "de inquirendo de illis qui falso finxerunt miracula fieri circa corpora Henrici de

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Monteforti et Henrici de Willington, rebellium nuper suspensorum."

* There are also some miracles of Montfort related in the Chronicle of Mailros, p. 232—239. These are, however, altogether different from those which we have here printed. There is mention made, p. 233, of an "editiuncula de bello Lawensi facta," which may possibly allude to the curious poem printed in Wright's Political Songs.

MS. Harl. 4690, fol. 51, r°, β. A contemporary authority says—"fuerunt qui dicerent ad sepulchrum ejus multa fieri miracula, et in loco ubi occisus est fontem nunc esse amenissimum et cunctis infirmantibus inde gustantibus saluberrimum; sed non [ausus] est quisquam hujusmodi propalare propter timorem regis* et suorum."—MS. Cotton. Cleop. A. I. fol. 190, r°, α. William de Nangis, a credible authority, thus writes,†—"porro corpus dicti Symonis monachi cujusdam abbatiæ, quæ vocantur Entesem, juxta quam prælium commissum est, colligentes in suam sæpeliendum ecclesiam portaverunt. Ad cujus tumulum, ut affirmant indigenæ, multi languentium sanitatis gratiam consecuti, Christum approbant ejus martyrium acceptasse." It is unnecessary to add more from printed authorities.‡

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* "De quo fama celebris quod multis post obitum radiaverit miraculis, quæ propter metum regium non prodeunt in publicum."—Chronicon Eveshamiæ, MS. Laud. 529, Bern. 1510, fol. 64, r°. Cf. Chron. Petroburgh. MS. Cotton. Claud. A. v. fol. 35, v°, α.

† Spicilegium Luc. Dacher. tom. iii. p. 41.

‡ Rishanger compares Montfort to Thomas à Becket, MS. Cotton. Claud. D. VI. fol. 120, v°, β. William de Shepisheved, in his brief chronicle, thus speaks of Montfort and those who died with him at Evesham:—"qui pro justitia et juramento suo servandum legitime agonizantes migraverunt ad Dominum. Sed non est hic breviter (sicut solito) transeundum de dicto comite, qui pro regni libertatibus

The indignities which were offered to the lifeless body of Leicester, "mangled and mutilated," says Sir James Mackintosh, "in a manner to which the decency of a civilized age forbids a more distinct allusion," doubtless contributed their share to the creation of the very general enthusiasm which vented itself in the veneration and worship of his memory, and of every memorial which death and the barbarity of an incensed enemy could leave behind them. Robert of Gloucester* thus relates the circumstance:—

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sicut gigas fortiter dimicans, cum totum robur exercitus adversariorum suorum eum occupaverat, et requisitus ab eisdem quod se redderet, sic fertur respondisse, 'Nunquam me reddam canibus et perjuris, sed soli Deo!' Hiis dictis, totus mactatus hilari vultu reddidit spiritum."—MS. Cotton. Faust. B. VI. fol. 75, v°. This contradicts the generally received account of Montfort's death, and I am inclined to give credence to it; for he was not a man likely at any time to crave quarter from his enemies, much less at a time when he must have known that a momentary mercy would only have been the means of preserving him for an ignominious death. William de Nangis says that "the whole weight of the battle fell upon the Earl of Leicester, who was an old and shrewd warrior, and stood the shock like a strong tower; but, surrounded by few followers, and overcome by numbers, he fell, and thus terminated an hereditary prowess, rendered famous by many glorious deeds."—Gesta Sancti Ludovici, p. 373. The destruction of the vanquished at this battle must have been very great, as little means was afforded for escape, and "vœ victis" was the cry of the conquerors.

* I quote from the MS. Calig. A. XI. in the Cottonian library, and not from Hearne's inaccurate edition.

"And among alle othere mest reuthe it was i-do,
That sir Simon the olde man demembred was so;
Vor sir Willam Mautravers, thonk nabbe he non,
Carf him of fet and honde, and is limes manion.
And that mest pité was, hii ne bilevede nouȝt this,
That is privé membres hii ne corve of i-wis;
And is heved hii smiten of, and to Wigemor it sende
To dam Maud the Mortimer, that wel foule it ssende.
And of al that me him bilimede, hii ne bledde noȝt, me sede,
And the harde here was is lich the nexte wede."

The following two extracts, taken from inedited manuscripts, relate to the same transaction.

(1.) "Cum igitur sic dominus Symon de Monteforti corruisset,* hostes ejus plurimum lætati sunt, et corpus ejus crudeliter consciderunt in frustra, mittentes omnia membra ejus per diversas partes Angliæ, ac dicentes eum infidelem esse et omnem hunc seditionem movisse. Sed dicunt quidam universa membra ejus taliter sparsa mirabiliter in brevi coadunata esse ad invicem, et condita esse in loco ubi nunc habetur honorifice sepultus, scilicet apud abbatiam de Evesham."—Chron. Anon. MS. Cotton. Cleop. A. I. fol. 190, v°, β.

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* According to the Evesham Chronicle, his son Simon was prevented from rendering him any assistance owing to the crowded flight of the fugitives, and that he made "vehementissimum dolorem" when he heard of the death of his father, and of the treatment of his dead body; "sancti tamen viri ejusdem loci monasterii sepelierunt illud cum cæteris corporibus nobilium interfectorum in basilica eorum, minus tamen honorifice propter metum."—MS. Oxon. Laud. 529, Bern. 1510, fol. 63, v°.

(2.) "Capud vero dicti comitis Leicestriæ, ut dicitur, abscisum fuit a corpore, et testiculi sui abscisi fuerunt et appensi ex utraque parte nasi sui, et ita missum fuit capud suum uxori domini Rogeri de Mortuo Mari apud castrum de Wiggemore. Pedes vero et manus suæ abcisi fuerunt, et missi per diversa loca inimicis suis ad magnum dedecus ipsius defuncti. Truncus autem corporis sui tantummodo datus est sepulturæ in ecclesia de Evesham."—MS. Liber de Antiquis Legibus,* fol. 94, v°, α. According to the Abingdon Chronicle, the remains of Montfort were actually taken away from the abbey of Evesham by some of his enemies, who considered that he was unworthy of a Christian burial;[*] and buried elsewhere, "qui quidem locus nisi paucissimis usque hodie est occultus et incognitus."[†] Vengeance, indeed,—fierce and implacable—followed the hero of liberty beyond the confines of the grave. It seemed that the direst cruelty could not satisfy the thirst of the triumphant barbarian—

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* This MS. is preserved in the archives of the corporation of the city of London, and I am indebted to Edward Tyrrell, Esq. City Remembrancer, for a sight of it. Mr. Hunter, in the Appendix to the last Report of the Record Commissioners, p. 465, has described the contents of the volume from a transcript made by order of the commissioners. This transcript is now preserved in the State Paper Office. There is another transcript in the British Museum, MS. Harl. 690, made in the seventeenth century, and which does not appear to be known to antiquaries. It is an excellent and valuable copy. A partial transcript is also in MS. Cantab. Trin. Coll. inter MSS. Gal. O. x. 3.

> "Ὦ Ζεῦ, Δίκη τε Ζενὸς, Ἡλίου τε φῶς,
> Νῦν καλλίνικοι τῶν ἐμῶν ἐχθρῶν, φίλαι,
> Γενησόμεσθα, κεὶς ὁδὸν βεβήκαμεν—"

So perished Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, of whom it has been well remarked,—"too great for a subject, which had hee not beene, he might have beene numbred amongst the worthiest of his time."[‡]

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[*] On the margin of fol. 176 of MS. Cotton. Nero, D. II., which is a fine copy of the chronicle of Matthew of Westminster, is a very curious drawing of the "butchering" of Montfort's remains. A drawing also of his death, in which he is represented as being slain by Henry himself, is in MS. Cotton. Nero, A. IV. fol. 110, r°. It was Prince Edward, and not Henry, as generally stated, who commanded the monks of Evesham to bury the slain at the battle of Evesham,—MS. Cotton. Titus, A. XIII. fol. 55, v°; MS. Cotton. Nero, A. VI. fol. 26, r°; MS. Bib. Reg. 20 A. XVIII; Chronicon Triveti, p. 200, &c.

[†] MS. Bodl. 712, Bern. 2619, fol. 370, r°, a; and MS. Bibl. Publ. Cantab. Dd. II. 5. This chronicle will shortly be published by the Berkshire Ashmolean Society.

[‡] Daniel's Collection of the Historie of England, fol. Lond. 1617, p. 152.

Not the least remarkable circumstances attending the death of Montfort and the battle of Evesham, were the tremendous hurricanes and storms on the eve of the same day throughout all England. By each party, this was considered a favourable interposition of Providence on their side,* and the populace believed that a signal of vengeance for the death of their hero had descended from heaven itself. The following extracts, taken from inedited manuscripts, relate to this subject. (1.) "Nec est prætermittendum signum quod accidit manifestum, quia hora illa qua prælium incepit, videlicet dicta die Martis hora prima, factæ sunt tenebræ per totam terram quales nunquam nostris temporibus visæ sunt, et tonitrus sequente mirabili inundatione pluviarum, cum ante et post per totam diem maxima esset aeris serenitas, quod manifestum indicium dare videbantur futurorum."—MS. Bodl. 712, Bern. 2619, fol. 369, v°, β. (2.) "Eodem die, circa horam diei tertiam, tanta pluviæ inundatio, tanta tonitrua et coruscatio, et tam densæ tenebræ extiterunt, ut cum esset hora prandii, vix cibum appositum potuerunt videre comedentes."—MS. Arundel, Coll. Arm. N°. 30, fol. 152, r°; and MS. Harl. 3846.* (3.) "In illo die obscuratus est sol, audita sunt tonitrua, fulgura visa sunt, et terræmotus factus est per loca."—MS. Bib. Reg. 13 C. VI. fol. 64, r°, α; and MS. Cotton. Nero, A. IX. fol. 72, v°. (4.) "Sed, ut in præliis Machabeorum, non refulsit sol in clipeos eorum aureos, nec splenduerunt montes ab eis. Sed a mane usque ad horam fere sextam tenebræ factæ sunt super terram, illuxeruntque fulgura et choruscationes orbi terræ et maxime per regnum Angliæ. Prædictus vero comes Leicestriæ Symon induit se loricam, sicut gigas, et ascendit ex adverso cum paucis respectu aliorum exercituum."—Chron. Wigorn. MS. Cotton. Calig. A. x. fol. 130, v°.

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* "As if the King of Kings would now visibly revenge the King's quarrell."—The late Warre parallel'd, by Edward Chamberlain, 4to. Lond. 1660, p. 7.

After the battle of Evesham,† the party of the Barons made few efforts, and those unsuccessful, against the rule of their conquerors. The parliament shortly afterwards assembled by Henry was the pliant instrument of his rapacity and revenge.‡ The followers of Leicester were proscribed, and the confiscation* of the lands of all the persons who had been or who were then engaged in the rebellion, and the gift of them to the King, was one of the first measures on which the parliament determined. "It was not to be supposed," says Mr. Hunter,† "that a parliament thus assembled before the excitement had time to subside, would proceed in the spirit of moderation in respect of the measures which the King might be advised to take; or that the King himself, who had just escaped from a restraint of fourteen months' duration, would be unwilling to avail himself of the advantageous position in which he was placed, to break for ever a power which he had found so dangerous." True, but all Henry's dangerous enemies perished at Evesham, and, with Henry's known character before our view, we cannot attribute his

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* Cf. MS. Addit. 5444, fol. 74, v°; MS. Cotton. Cleop. D. IX. fol. 55, r°, α; MS. Digby, 168; MS. Cotton. Domitian. XIII. fol. 55, v°; MS. Addit. 6913, fol. 207, r°; MS. Liber de Antiquis Legibus, fol. 94, v°, β.

† According to the Red Book of the Exchequer, the time of war lasted from April 4th, 1264, to September 16th, 1265.

‡ Mackintosh's History of England, vol. i. p. 244. Cf. Chron. Wykes. "Post hæc Eduardus de Londoniensibus et pluribus aliis

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triumphans, nec fidem nec spem datam pluribus observavit; sed crudelitatibus inserviens, quosdam in prisione vitam finire fecit, et alios exhæredans, terras eorum suis fautoribus pro parte distribuit."—W. de Nangis, Spicil. Luc. Dacher. tom. iii. p. 41. "Rex ergo, mortuo domino Symone de Monteforti, ad suos et priorem statum suum reversus est."—MS. Cotton. Cleop. A. I. fol. 191, r°, *a*.

* Cf. MS. Harl. 6359; MS. Cart. Antiq. Cotton. XI. 18. Most of Leicester's own possessions were given to Henry's youngest son, Edmund; Sir Francis Palgrave's Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer, vol. i. p. 68.

† Rotuli Selecti, &c. præf. p. xxxi.

motives thus, but rather, as Sir James Mackintosh expresses it, to "the unmanly insolence of a feeble mind intoxicated by undeserved success." Would any regard to his own power, for it could not have been a care for the safety of his people, have justified his treatment of his own sister, even although she were the wife of his unhappy adversary? For surely the banishment* from the country of so near a relation, who had herself been guiltless of any wrong towards him, was cruel and unnecessary. Yet this was the sovereign whose outward piety and devotion to the interests of religion† were so remarkable! The murder of Prince Henry may almost be considered a mark of retributive justice.‡

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* Cf. Chron. Petroburg. MS. Cotton. Claud. A. v. fol. 34, v°, *a*.

† "Hic fuit devotus Deo et ecclesiæ, et novum opus Westmonasterii inter alia sua facta laudabilia construxit."—MS. Arundel. 310, fol. 218, v°. Cf. Hentzner's Travels, p. 255; MS. Cart. Antiq. xv. 7, memb. 7, fr.; MS. Harl. 3860, fol. 13, r°, *β*; MS. Cotton. Otho, D. VIII. fol. 214, v°, *β*.

‡ This prince was murdered in the church of St. Sylvester at Viterbo in 1271, by Guy and Simon, two sons of Simon de Montfort, in revenge for the indignant treatment of the body of their father. Gregory X. issued bulls against the murderers on the application of Edward I. The original bull against Simon de Montfort is preserved in the archives of the cathedral of Orvieto. (Proceedings of the Royal Society of Literature, p. 17.) The original bull against Guy de Montfort is in the library of the Vatican, and is copied in the

Nearly all our contemporary historians are partizans* of the Earl of Leicester, and, when we consider that among these are numbered the *élite* of English literature at that period, this fact in his favour must not be passed over without notice. Another more remarkable circumstance is not so generally known, viz. that Montfort during a long period sustained a literary correspondence with Adam de Marisco, one of the most distinguished scholars of the time. The truth of this fact does not depend upon the statements of our chroniclers, or upon any individual allusions, but we actually possess a copy† of letters from Adam de Marisco addressed to Leicester, although we do not appear to have any of Montfort's answers in a continued series. The letters that remain to us, however, are replete with curious and valuable notices of the his-

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MS. Bibliotheca Vaticana in the State Paper Office; other copies are in MS. Lansd. 397, and MS. Lambeth. 499. See also Excerpta Historica, p. 267; Devon's Issues of the Exchequer, p. 83; Abbreviatio Placitorum, p. 264.

* Rishanger is so in all his writings, and it is difficult to reconcile the knowledge of this fact with Bale's title of Historiographus Regius.

† MS. Cotton. Vitell. C. VIII. See the New General Biographical Dictionary, vol. i. p. 89. There are also some letters to Grosteste, the Queen, the Countess of Leicester, and others. Cf. MS. Digb. 103; MS. Collect. James, 4, p. 65; Lelandi Collectanea.

tory of the period to which the following chronicle relates; but I have purposely avoided any more distinct allusion to them because they will ere long be printed entire. Rishanger, in his continuation of Matthew Paris, and in our chronicle, expressly bestows on Montfort the praise of literature, in a passage the truth of which has been doubted by one of our most eminent historians,* and the above statement proves beyond a doubt that our historiographer has advanced nothing more than the truth. To me this confirmation of Rishanger greatly increases the validity of his other remarkable relations, while every one must allow the probabilities are strengthened for allowing Leicester a more extensive foresight than has generally been ascribed to him in his agitations. If it were true that he paid court to the lower orders to gain allies against the nobility, as one ancient chronicler,† and several modern historians, have surmised, it would only more clearly prove that his ambition was guided by sagacity; that he saw the part of society which was growing in strength, and with which a provident government ought to seek an alliance; that, amidst the noise and confusion of popular complaint, he had learned the art of decyphering its often wayward language, and of discriminating the clamour of a moment from demands rooted in the nature and circumstances of society.* We might not perhaps be far wrong in ascribing his enlargement of the basis of our legislature to a similar origin, although those who were among the foremost to support the innovation when its fitness to the state of society became apparent, were not willing to attribute it to such a cause. His was not a contest for the equalization of property, made by one who had nothing to lose, in the hope of being bettered by a revolution; nor was it that senseless spirit of opposition to authority, merely because it is authority, which sometimes arises after a long continued peace;† but it was a contest for freedom, for justice, and for natural and reasonable rights.

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* See p. 6 of our Chronicle, and notes.

† Thomas Wykes, p. 66.

This Introduction has already exceeded the usual limits, otherwise I should have been induced to have attempted a biographical memoir of the Earl of Leicester. This task, however, has been well executed by the Rev. Sambrook

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* Mackintosh's History of England, vol. i. p. 246.

† "From hence the commons, to whom days present seem ever worst, commend the foregone ages they never remembered, and condemn the present, though they knew neither the disease thereof, nor the remedie."—Cotton's View of the Life and Reign of Henry the Third, p. 3.

Nicholas Russell, in Nichols's History of Leicestershire. More, however, yet remains to be done, and a critical history of Montfort's eventful life is a desideratum in our literature.*

The historical illustrations to Rishanger's Chronicle which appear with the notes at the end of this volume are selected from inedited manuscripts and records preserved in the libraries of Oxford, Cambridge, the British Museum, the College of Arms, the Tower of London, Lambeth Palace, and Paris. I have not attempted to illustrate the Miracles of Montfort in the same manner, because the mere incidental allusion to names is scarcely a sufficient reason for continuous commentary.

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* Rishanger (p. 7) relates a curious anecdote of Grosteste's prophecy of the fate of Montfort's eldest son. All his children, as far as history has left us any account, were unfortunate in after life. He had five sons and one daughter; "Icist Symon qui iert en Engleterre, fu conte de Lincestre, et ont espousée le suer Henri roy d'Engleterre, de la quele il ont v. filz—Henri, Symon, Richart, Gui, et Amauri, et une fille."—Croniques d'Angleterre, MS. Bib. Reg. 16 G. VI. fol. 425, vo, β. Duchesne (Hist. Norman. Script. p. 1092) has given a pedigree of the Montfort family, and Nichols has given another in his History of Leicestershire, vol. i. p. 212. (See also Langley's Desborough Hundred, Lysons's Buckinghamshire under Hitchenden, and Stothard's Monumental Effigies, for the family descended from Richard Wellysbourne de Montfort, said to have been the Earl's youngest son.) It appears to be uncertain when Montfort was made Earl of Leicester, but one chronicle gives the precise day, viz. Feb. 2nd, 1240.—Chron. Hagneb. MS. Cotton. Vespas. B. XI. fol. 22, r°. I am inclined to believe that the year here given is incorrect, although perhaps the day may be right. The Annals of Dunstaple assert that his creation took place in 1231, and Mr. Russell (in Nichols's Leicestershire) shows that he was Earl in 18 Hen. III. Particulars relative to the family may be found in MS. Lansd. 229, and MS. Bib. Publ. Cantab. Gg. II. 26.

J. O. HALLIWELL.

35, *Alfred Place, London.*
Oct. 20*th*, 1840.

CHRONICON

WILLELMI DE RISHANGER.

CHRONICON

WILLELMI DE RISHANGER.

Incipiunt Cronica fratris Willelmi de Rishanger.

QUAMPLURIMORUM incommendabilis inolevit consuetudo, qui scripta cronicalia parvipendunt, libros historiales ac gesta principum contempnunt, eisque vacantibus derisiones inferendo, frivola et falsitates computant universa; quibus expedit admonitioni saluberrimæ non impudenter aures inclinare, ut vituperationi suæ modum curent imponere, ne si forsitan nimis immoderate simplicitatem aliorum vituperent, propriæ fragilitatis immemores in derogationis culpa capiantur; præsertim cum ad multorum notitiam a viris sanctis et catholicis hujusmodi diligenter edita conspicimus. Cui quidem admonitioni si quis adquiescere recusat, quanta reprehensione dignus sit, audiat quod scriptum est! *Quicquid salubrius est, quicquid te magis commendat Deo, et ad majorem devotionem excitat; id meditare, id excerce, id exequi studeas semper et amplecti.* Cum beata meditatio, quam sequitur fructuosa cordis contritio, mentis oculum in supernæ contemplationis lumine infigens; quod utique plerumque contingit, cum ad memoriam reducitur, quam momentanea vanitate præterit nobilitas et potentia omnimoda mortalium: fit enim nonnunquam, ut, ex præcedentium re- Fol. 97, r°, a.

cordatione, ad amorem cœlestis patriæ legentis animus accenditur. Quia igitur nostri quidam contemporanei, circa rerum præteritarum indagationem plerumque incumbentes, et fortiores in angustiis efficiuntur, qui considerant antiquos patres, tanquam aurum igne examinatum, variis persecutionibus probatos, ad supernam jocunditatem feliciter migrasse; credentes successores nostros pari occu- Fol. 97, r°, b. patione medio tempore detineri, quod mirabiles et amaros eventus, quos ad flagellum gentis Anglicanæ, peccatis populi promerentibus, permisit Deus excitari nostris temporibus, litteris duximus commendare; quatinus considerantes nos una cum adversis simul et prosperis velud umbram decessisse, mala, quæ ante seculi consummationem euvangelico promisso supervenient universo orbi, non solum minus formidant, verum etiam gaudenter toleranda, Dei patientia protecti, alacriter exurgant; quia *Multæ tribulationes justorum, et de omnibus hiis liberabit eos Dominus;* et auctoritas, *Absit ne fidelis quisque, qui Deum videre desiderat, de mundi percussionibus lugeat; qui eisdem suis percussionibus finire non ignorat.* Ut igitur materiam cronizandi sagaciori linguæ relinquam, hujusmodi opus arripere volenti, inceptis finem citius imponens, qualicumque stilo pauca de multis intimare curabo.

De bello de Lewes.

Anno siquidem gratiæ M°.cc°.lxiij°, regnante rege Angliæ H. Tertio, regni ejusdem anno xlviij°, perurgente cruentissima dissensione inter eundem regem et barones suos, retroactis temporibus exortis, occasione provisionum Oxon. quondam statutarum, inter cætera quæ in scriptis inseruntur adversa, formidolosæ tribulationis incommodo præcipue laborabat terra Anglicana. Convenientibus autem aliquando Oxon. comitibus, baronibus, et totius regni magnatibus universis, præsente rege, providentur statuta ad exaltationem ecclesiæ et utilitatem regni, secundum assertionem multorum, dummodo firmiter et inviolabiliter ab universis et singulis observarentur. Sed prævalente postmodum omnis iniquitatis auc- Fol. 97, vo, a. tore, secuta est subversio terræ, concussio et angustia, nostris temporibus inaudita. Constitutiones siquidem ibidem provisæ scriptis inseruntur; etsi nonnullis invitis, signis singulorum signantur: præstito corporali sacramento, tam a domino rege et Edwardo filio ejus primogenito, quam a magnatibus omnibus et proceribus, ut perpetuæ firmitatis robur optinerent; decretum est, ut, si quis contra hæc attemptare præsumeret, publicus hostis et inimicus mortalis haberetur, et in ipsum hostiliter insurgeretur. Quarum quidem constitutionum unica hæc est, de qua turbatio assumpsisse dicitur exordium. Regno quoque in multis multipliciter deformato et pro defectu veri regiminis vacillante, de communi consilio eliguntur xij. viri sapientes ex parte regis, et totidem ex parte communitatis, ut decernerent, statuerent, et ordinarent super melioratione et reformatione regni Angliæ, prout eis melius expediendum videretur; promittentes ipse dominus rex et Edwardus, et proceres universi propriis juramentis, sicut dictum est, firmantes, et omnimodam securitatem promittentes, ut quicquid per prædictos xxiiij. ordinatum existeret, inviolabiliter observaretur.

De Pictavensium dominatione in Anglia, et eorundem excessibus.

Floruerunt autem illis diebus Eymerus Wyntoniensis electus, Willelmus de Valencia, fratres domini regis, Petrus de Sabaudia dominæ reginæ avunculus, et alienigenæ quamplures, dicti regis consiliarii, præ omnibus indigenis et naturalibus regni, secretiores ac specialiores; quorum tanta crevit dominatio, quod tam religiosos quam seculares multipliciter opprimentes, et ultra modum Fol. 97, vo, b. indigenas terræ vilipendentes, non inveniretur qui contra eos quicquam juris remedii, exigente necessitate, præsumeret exercere. Nam cum, mellitis et mollitis adulationibus, animum regis pro suæ libito voluntatis a rationis tramite declinassent, tanta elati sunt jactantia, quod nec superiorem sibi intelligerent, nec parem sibi fore reputarent, pro judicio rationis motum animi sèquentes impetuosum. Verum quia plerumque delictum inferioris vertitur in contumeliam et opprobrium superioris, eorum austeritas senescallis et ballivis eorumdem, qui potius prædones dicebantur, non immerito multociens imputabatur. Quorum excessus intolerabiles quia longum esset dinumerare, unum tamen incomparabilem, ut per unum alii intelligantur, huic paginæ duximus annotandum. Contigit quodam tempore, quod juvenis quidam transitum faciens per quendam viculum qui Trumpetoñ dicitur, cum eum oblatraret quidam canis, ut ipsum compesceret lapidem ad ipsum incaute jactavit; qui lapis, ex obliquo resiliens, gallinam unam cujusdam mulierculæ casu interfecit: quod ipsa exiliens vidit, et, clamore querulo elevato, multos vicinorum congregavit. Juvenis autem hæc humiliter casu contigisse cum juramento obtestans, pro gallina valorem optulit, et in duplo amplius, atque pro injuria et offensa quod rationabiliter vellet postulare: mulier hæc omnia recusavit, incumbens ultioni. Quidam autem serviens W. de Valencia, fratris domini Regis uterini, procax, et ex tanto domino cornua sibi assumens, insontem arripuit servientem qui gallinam occiderat, et artissimis vinculis constrictum misit in carcerem intolerabilem; et ibi infra paucos dies, artatus supra modum, expiravit, et projectus super sterquilinium, in cimiterio postmodum factis exequiis tumulatur. Contigit ut post triduum illac transiret W. de Busseya, præfati W. de Valencia senescallus; et audiens quæ facta fuerant, jussit extrahi corpus a tumulo fœtens et quatriduanum, et jussit illud suspendi patibulo; et hæc omnia sine judicio facta sunt, quæ, etsi judicialiter processissent, inaudita crudelitas denotari potuissent. Si quis insuper, querulus et injuriam passus, ad ipsius W. præsentiam accessisset, justitiam petiturus super injuriis sibi illatis, tale fertur accepisse responsum: "Si ego tibi injuriam facio, quis tibi rectum faciet? dominus rex vult

Fol. 98, r°, a.

quicquid dominus meus vult; sed dominus meus nonvult quicquid dominus rex vult, vel imperat." Et sic nec regi nec alicui magnatum, immo nec alicui de populo, reverentiam vel justitiam dignabatur exhibere. Quid plura? tam graves erant eorum excessus et cornuta superbia, quod nec sub ipsis minores vivere poterant, nec cum ipsis pares conversari: dumque sic conculcatur populus, et opprimitur, facta est in pace amaritudo amarissima.

De Romanorum elationibus.

Dominabantur etiam sub diebus eisdem in Anglia Romani, et eorum legati; multimoda gravamina, tam laicis et magnatibus, super advocationibus ecclesiarum, et elemosinis ab eis et eorum successoribus in usus pauperum regni et sustentationem religiosorum pie datis, quam clericis et viris religiosis, super beneficiis suis, inferendo; in quosdam etiam episcopos et alios ecclesiarum prælatos, ad quos beneficiorum præsentationes spectabant, sententias excommunicationis fulminando, ne sæpe alicui de regno beneficium conferrent, donec, quibusdam Romanis in Anglia venientibus, in competenti beneficio singulis provisum esset; a clericis etiam regni beneficia, pacifica possessione optenta, auferre volentes, ut ea, non sicut decuit, sed sicut eis placuit, Romanis conferrent, et auctoritate Romana sibi vendicarent, in præjudicium Anglicorum et gravamen intolerabile, indigenas spoliando, et alienigenas ditando. Unde dolorem dolori accumulando, melius videbatur omnibus mori, quam vivere tantis angustiis oppressi. Fol. 98, r°, b.

Proponunt magnates terræ alienigenarum audaciam humiliare, et propositum suum viriliter exequuntur.

Temporibus illis, ad relevationem gentium, surrexerunt in Anglia duo viri nobiles et periti atque potentes, Symon de Monteforti, comes Leycestriæ, et Nicholaus filius Johannis, præ cunctis alienigenis discretionis dono præeminentes, et Ricardus comes Gloucestriæ, vir potens et opulentus. Multi etiam magnates alii, eximiæ probitatis et consilii, omnes cum consilio præfati comitis Leicestriæ tanquam capitanei sui constantissimi præbentes assensum, et votis uberrimis inclinantes; donec inimico superseminante zizania, patefacta est via corruptionis, sicut patebit in sequentibus. Sed, quia de ipso comite nostræ narrationis materia sumit initium, quibus extiterit virtutibus redimitus declaramus. Erat siquidem vir magnificus, prudens, et circumspectus; armorum usu et rei militaris experientia, omnibus in suo Fol. 98, vº, a. tempore anteponendus; litteraturæ scientia commendabiliter præditus; officiorum ecclesiasticorum die noctuque avidus auditor; in cibo et potu parcus, ut oculata fide noverant eidem assistentes; in temporibus nocturnis plus vigiliis indulgens quam sopori, secretioribus suis frequenter hoc referentibus; in summis necessitatibus, quas pro regni negociis pertulit, securus, et præcipue in Wasconia, cum illuc de consilio regis extitisset, indomitos et rebelles regiæ celsitudini subjugatos, in Angliam ad regem dominum suum destinavit. Erat siquidem jocundi facetique sermonis, atque mirandæ fidelitatis assecutus beneficium; propter quod mortem subire non abhorruit, sicut infra dicetur. Constantiam ipsius omnes, etiam adversarii ejus, mirabantur: cæteris juramenta præstantibus, plures, ut provisiones Oxon. servarent, et spreto juramento recalcitrarunt; set semel juratus, sicut columpna immobilis, perseveranter stetit, nec minis, promissionibus, donis, aut adulationibus flecti potuit, ut a juramento cum cæteris magnatibus, ad reformationem status regni præstito, quoquo modo resiliret. Virorum religiosorum se commendavit orationibus; humiliter, ut fraternali specialitate eisdem associari supplicavit, etiam ut pro statu regni et pace ecclesiæ preces ad Deum effunderent; eratque deprecatio ipsius assidua, ut ab avaritia et cupiditate terrenarum rerum divina gratia ipsum servaret immaculatum, pro certo sciens multos hujusmodi vitio diebus illis illaqueari, sicut postea rei eventus probavit. Viris religiosis et aliis ecclesiarum prælatis, quos honestas vitæ commendabat, omnimodam exhibebat reverentiam; merito perfecti magistri perfectus discipulus; informatus disciplina, quia præcordialiter adhærens beato Roberto quondam Linc. episcopo, eique suos parvulos tradens nutriendos, multa per ipsius consilia salubria tractabat. Fol. 98, v°, b. Qui quidem episcopus dicitur injunxisse comiti eidem, in remissionem peccatorum suorum, ut causam illam, pro qua usque ad mortem dimicavit, assumeret; asserens pacem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sine gladio materiali nunquam firmari, et constanter affirmans omnes in ea et pro ea morientes martirio coronari. Dicitur a fidedignis, quod antistes, aliquando manum ponens super capud primogeniti comitis ejusdem, dixit ei: "O fili carissime! et tu et pater tuus ambo moriemini uno die, unoque die et morbo, pro justitia." Tamen qualis ipsius antistitis vita extiterit, satis declarant ad tumbam ejus miracula divinitus ostensa. Comes iste, sicut alter Josias, coluit justitiam, tanquam animæ suæ medicinam. Comites, barones, et multi nobiles regni, ad ipsum corda convertentes, intolerabilibus miseriis compatientes, et considerantes rem publicam undique parere discrimini, licet *durum foret contra stimulum calcitrare*, (tum quia, Romanorum extollentiam humiliando, curiam Romanam offenderent, tum quia regni statum et consuetudines meliorando, et fratrum regis elata cornua constringendo, regiam indignationem in se ipsos provocarent;) tamen in arta necessitate positi, manifestis indiciis attendentes, statum suum in pejorem devenire conditionem, nisi malignantium insidiis efficaciter obviaretur, de communi consilio sanxerunt elatorum oppressionibus resistendo remedia convenientia procurare, et colla sua de sub jugo tantæ servitutis excutere.

Eiciuntur Pictavenses ab Anglia, sine aliquo congressu hostili.

Per istorum igitur industriam, videlicet comitis Leycestriæ, R. comitis Gloucestriæ, Johannis filii Gaufridi, qui principales auctores constitutionum extiterunt, ut asseritur, vocatis cæteris magnatibus, ut prædictum est, convenit tanta militia cum equis et armis apud Oxoniam, qualis antea nulla visa est, a tempore quo non extat memoria; ubi, communicato consilio, inter cæteras provisiones statuerunt, ut dictos fratres vocarent, et per regem vocari facerent, ut sisterent judicio suis querelantibus responsuri, et secundum regni jura facturi; atque ut juramentum, quod naturales barones terræ fecerant, corporaliter præstarent, vel, si magis expediens crederent, de regno omnes exirent. Quod utique omnium baronum fixum erat propositum, ut eos tanquam pacis perturbatores, cum suis fautoribus et complicibus alienigenis, ab Anglia expellerent, et sic compendiosius de negociis regni tractarent et disponerent. Nec mora; cum dicti fratres, qui similiter in manu valida ibidem convenerant, admodum mente consternati præ timore tantæ multitudinis cui resistere erat impossibile, culpis suis exigentibus, subire judicium formidantes, per aliquos forte de secretioribus regis de totali proposito baronum præmuniti, iter versus Winton. sub ipso noctis silentio festinanter arripuerunt, et mortis discrimina pertimescentes, in castrum de Wlvesheia sese receperunt. Quo comperto, barones sine moræ dispendio viriliter eos persequentes, castrum incontinenti reddere et resingnare, et cum omni celeritate terram evacuare, compulerunt. Quibus de castro egressis, Eymerus Wintoniensis electus, vir utique præclaræ sanctitatis, licet ab Anglicis tanquam alienigena contemptus, lacrimando conversus ad fratres suos, similiter præ confusione lacrimarum inundatione perfusos, ait: "O fratres dilectissimi, et præcordiales amici! merito hæc patimur, quia peccavimus in popu-

Fol. 99, r°, a.

lum regni, videntes angustias eorum; dum deprecarentur nos, et non audivimus, variis obpressionibus eos affligendo, pietatis viscera eis aperire recusavimus;—juste venit super nos tribulatio! Fol. 99, r°, b. Verumtamen, quæ in nostram redundant contumeliam et obprobrium, senescallis et balivis nostris merito possumus imputare. Nunc ergo delictis nostris exigentibus, inmunes exilium subire quid trepidamus? quid deferimus?" Quo dicto, deposuerit "Eamus!" Hæc et hiis similia qui præsentes aderant audientes, etiam eorum adversarii, a lacrimarum effusione non poterant se continere. Illis igitur abeuntibus, ducem præstabat comes de Aubemara, ut illæsi ab hostibus redderentur; pervenientesque ad portum obtato navigio transfretaverunt.

Mittuntur legati a parte communitatis ad curiam Romanam, contra electum Winton.

Magnates igitur, formidantes ne electus Winton. Romam properaret, et infinita promissa papæ et cardinalibus pecuniam sua, procuraret consecrationem, ut sic efficacior esset ad nocendum, elegerunt iiij. milites peritos et facundos et fidedingnos, qui epistolam sigillis suis roboratam, in qua continebantur multa facinora et enormia quæ perpetraverant prædicti electus et fratres ejus, videlicet de homicidiis, rapinis, et variis injuriis et oppressionibus, Romam defferrent, et papæ et toti curiæ Romanæ præsentarent; addentes, quod rex eorum impetus noluit refrænare. In cujus rei tenore continetur, ut eis fides indubitata adhibeatur.

Animantur barones ad refrænandum Romanos.

Hiis ita gestis, Romanorum injurias et gravamina regnicolis irrogata multipliciter nequaquam tradentes oblivioni, decreverunt eos per subtractionem corporum per totum regnum sic artare, quod aliis intentabant inferre, sicud prædictum est, ut a regni molestatione desisterent. Mandantes igitur viris religiosis, et aliis qui habebant ecclesias eorum ad firmam, firmiter injunxerunt, ne Fol. 99, v°, a. de firmis ecclesiarum seu redditibus camerarum quas de Romanis tenebant, vel eis debebant, minime responderent, sed dictas firmas et redditus paratos, die et loco eis assignato, procuratoribus suis ad hoc datis tradituri; adjungentes quod, si aliter facerent, sua incendio subjacerent, et nichilominus periculum quod Romanis imminebat in suis personis immineret. Præcaventes insuper ne episcopi, in quorum diocesibus hujusmodi firmæ habebantur, propter reverentiam summi pontificis et obedientiam qua sedi apostolicæ tenebantur astricti, Romanos protegerent, et ecclesiastica censura defenderent eosdem; districte eis dederunt in mandatis, firmiter injungentes, ne quisquam circa eos quæ de Romanis et eorum redditibus intromitterent, nullas partes suas interponere præsumeret; quod si contra facerent aliqui, similiter sua incendio subjacerent. Per istam igitur viam incedentes contra molestatores regni, Romanorum audaciam reprimebant, et eos per triennium a regno excludebant; donec per lamentabilem comitis Leyc. interitum, qui clavis erat Angliæ, portus maris claudens et nullis Romanis aperiens, eis et cæteris alienigenis liber patebat introitus.

Insurgunt barones in eorum adversarios per totum regnum, quos noverant contra juramentum suum recalcitrare.

Prædicto modo Pictavensibus a regno expulsis, quibus materia totius dissensionis imputabatur, necnon et Romanis aliquantulum subjugatis, adhuc quidam lateri regis adhærentes, tam alienigenæ quam indigenæ, gratiam retributionis sperantes, contra fidem et sacramentum suum perturbabant, quo minus propositum baronum vertebatur ad effectum. Barones igitur iracundiæ calore frementes, in semetipsis communicato consilio, terras eorum hostiliter invadunt, Fol. 99, v°, b. et in consiliarios domini regis et domini Edwardi, et quotquot eis noverant in aliquo adhærere, potenter insurgunt; maneria eorum, dominica, munitiones, et oppida, bonaque ecclesiastica quam mundana, occupando, deprædando, infinita mala perpetrando, per totum regnum debacchantur: unde et Petrus Hereford. episcopus, natione Burgundus, captus est in ecclesia sua cathedrali, et ductus est ad castrum Ordeleye, thesauris suis et prædiis direptioni datis et confusioni. Oxon. progreditur usque Gloucest. et castrum obsedit per iiij. dies; in quo quidam miles Mathias de Besille alienigena, cui comitatus et castri fuerat a rege commissa custodia, cum paucis habebatur; qui tam diu se tenuit in illo, exercitui obsidenti præcise se reddere recusans, quousque prima porta versus urbem combusta est; deinde quorumdam incarceratorum, auxiliandi gratia a carcere absolutorum, posterna ex altera parte castelli ingressu patefacta, subito barones intrant. Mathias vero in turrim fugere compulsus est fortissimam, triplici hostio ferreo ac seris firmissimis munitam. Introitus cum malleis ferreis et securibus viriliter tandem confracti, ingrediuntur belligeri. Mathia sic capto, qui nec metu mortis nec minis hostium se reddere voluit; quod ei etiam ab inimicis suis ad laudem fecerat merito notatur; ductus est ad episcopum prædictum, simili custodiæ mancipandus. Deinde ivit exercitus ad Wigorniam, et eam, sine alicujus contradictionis nota, licet de villa et civitate custodienda litteras regis recepissent cives, pro voto intravit; et, fidelitate recepta ab eis, versus Bruges iter et vexilla direxit, et regium ibi oppidum recepit; et exinde apud Sallopesbur. municipium progressus est, civibus ad arma primo die convolantibus, et nobiliter se suamque civitatem defendentibus; sed demum pacto inter se stabilito, ne videlicet Wallenses intrarent, quorum turma ex altera parte civitatis urbem assiliens innumerosa, urbem die sequenti reddiderunt. Hoc facto, barones versus australes partes gressus suos direxerunt, assumpto secum Fol. 100, r°, a.

comite prædicto, in bellicis rebus probatissimo, in ducem capitaneum, per quem regebantur et prospere agebant. Augebatur numerus conmilitonum suorum per singulos dies. Nam fere totius regni præstantiores, viribus et nobilitate præcellentes, ad eos confluxerunt. Johannes Maunsel, multarum in Anglia rector ecclesiarum, et possessor reddituum quorum non erat numerus, ita quod ditior clericus eo in orbe non videretur, consiliarius regis et reginæ specialissimus, metu baronum qui consiliarios regis tanquam alienigenas perscrutabantur ubique, aufugit ultra mare latenter de turri London., in qua rex et regina tunc temporis morabantur. Quem cum Henricus filius regis Almanniæ fugientem instrueretur, et ipse capitur, cum applicuisset Baion., ac Ingeramo de Fenes, procuratore reginæ, quæ barones et omnes eis consentientes exosos habebat propter alienigenarum expulsionem.

De conviciis a civibus London. reginæ irrogatis, quod magna fuerat materia dissensionis.

Interim Edwardus regis primogenitus castrum de Windeshor. militaribus copiis munivit alienigenarum, quos invitaverat et secum paulo ante adduxerat, cum a transmarinis partibus redisset. Rex autem in Turri London. existens, videns se undique hostibus vallatum, paci baronum adquievit, et provissiones Oxon. observare concessit. Sed regina irritata muliebri angore, pro posse contraire visa est, nec assensum præbuit; unde cum de Turri transiens per Tamisium, versus Windeshore, ubi alieni erant congregati, intercepta est a Londoniensibus, et ab eis enormiter blasphemata, atque exclamata turpiter quod non licet recitare, jactuque lapidis et luti subtus pontem vilissime repulsa: quod utique pacis inpedimentum hoc fuerat incentivum, patebit in sequentibus. Fol. 100, r°, b.

Formatur aliquantulum inter regem et barones, modico tamen tempore.

Forma pacis inter regem et barones facta tunc temporis hæc erat, videlicet, quod H. filius regis Alman. per regem et reginam liberetur, et quod castrum regis, prius alienigenarum custodiæ per regem deputata, baronum custodiæ committatur; et quod statuta Oxon. et provisiones firmiter et inviolabiliter, a rege et regina, et Edwardo, et ab omnibus, observentur; et quod regnum de cætero per indigenas et naturales terræ et utiles sub domino rege gubernetur; et quod alienigenæ exeant a regno, ulterius non reversuri, exceptis vel quorum moram fideles regni unanimiter acceptarent; et illi qui in castro nobili Windesh. fuerant introducti, alienigenæ prædicti, milites strenuissimi, in numero q. C., et satellites multo plures, qui circumquaque patriam deprædantes ut castrum munirent, similiter expellerentur.

Maletractaretur Edwardus, nisi fuisset Wygorn. episcopus.

Interea Symon de Monte-forti, et barones circa partes maritimas, cum fuissent occupati pro liberatione domini H. de Alm., venit Edwardus ad castrum Brisstalli, atque ibidem modico tempore moraretur. Ecce nulla ei arridente fortuna, oritur inter milites suos et municipes seditio magna, ita quod urbs tota, quæ sui esse debuerat dominii, a sua fidelitate penitus et obsequio se subtraheret, civibus ad ipsum obsidendum jam paratis, de castri captione jam securis. Is igitur hinc inde cuncta sibi sinistra cedere omnino perpendens, eo quod jam tota Anglia contra eum et omnes alienorum fautores, et contra barones recalcitrare volentes ira exarcuit et indignatione; accito ad eum Waltero Wigorn. præsule, Fol. 100, v°, a. qui de latere extiterat baronum, sub simulationis pallio cum eis pacificari velle promisit. Quem cum episcopus, accepta securitate, ut putabatur, manucepisset, ad hoc fideliter prosequendum pactum quod pepigit, transgreditur. Nam cum iter versus curiam arripuisset, ut promissum confirmaret, inmisit in prædicto castro cum alienigenis promissionem suam de pace conceptam, inter eos iiij. commendans. Igitur in festo sancti [Petri] ad vincula, viribus congregatis, proceres regni inprisi una cum rege jam eis per omnia oretenus inclinato, castrum illud assumendum decreverunt. Quo comperto, Edwardus exiens de castro quasi pro pace tractanda, occurrit patri et baronibus quasi via media a civitate London.; finito quoque tractatu qualicunque, cum noluisset redire, industria comitis Leycest. et Episcopi Wigorn. sinistra suspicantium de eo retentus est, nec castrum reintrare permittitur. Castrum igitur illud regi et baronibus redditum est, hoc modo, ut in tempore salvis sibi equis et armis salvo exirent de regno sine spe revertendi, quos quidam baronum ad mare conduxerunt. Circa idem tempus Lewinus princeps Walliæ terras Edwardi destruxit in Marcia Cestr.; castrum de Dissard obsedit, cepit, et ad solum conplanavit, et castrum de Gannok.

Jussa sunt statuta Oxon. observari, sed nichil proficiebat.

Ad nathale beatæ Mariæ proximo sequens, maxima ordinatur congregatio London. procerum et præsulum, cæterorumque rengni prælatorum, ubi statuta Oxon. promulgata sunt, et per regnum integraliter missa observari. Sed deprædationes et rapinæ personis illatæ ecclesiasticis, quod utique fierent valde difficile, atque in quibusdam magnatibus qui regi favebant similiter factæ, statuuntur Fol. 100, v°, b. restitui; ac Petrus Herefordensis episcopus a custodia qua tenebatur absolutus est, et qui cum eo erant, videlicet Mathias de Besillis, et cæteri, liberati sunt. Et circa festum Sancti Michaelis, rex et regina et comes S. de M. F., cum multis nobilibus, transfretarunt ad colloquium regis Franciæ Lodowici, quod tunc tenuit

Baion. occasione perturbationis regni Angliæ, ut in eo pacem formaret et unitatem, quæ ex præfato facinore perpetrato in Londonienses odii contraxerat incentivum.

Multi iterum resiliunt a juramento, et comes Leycestriæ seducitur per quosdam cives London.

Parliamento illo Dover. finito, qualitercumque, sive pro statu baronum sive contra nescio, Deus scit, cunctisque ad propria remeantibus, paucis postea elapsis diebus convocatio fit apud London. innumerosa comitum, baronum, et aliorum regni naturalium; ubi scisma, prothodolor! oritur inter barones, universo regno Angliæ deplorandam, juxta verbum evangelicum, *Omne regnum in seipsum divisum desolabitur*. Plures namque nobiles et potentes eorum qui primo deprædationibus faciendis acriter exarcuerunt, et comiti Leycestriæ favebant, totis viribus ut alienigenas expellendo provisiones Oxon. servarentur, ad utilitatem regni et honorem ecclesiæ et gentis Anglicane, jam regi et reginæ et Edwardo adhæserant, promissionibus delinitis conversi, et terris amplis sibi promissis et collatis. Animabatur etiam rex ad irritandum provisiones baronum et statuta, eo quod prius impetrata fuerat absolutio papalis, de juramento præstito ut eadem servaret et observari per totum regnum præciperet. Congregato igitur exercitu mangno, nam potentiores regni ei adhærebant viriliter, versus Doveriam iter direxit ut castrum de manu baronum alliceret. Sed longe a desiderio suo rediens, cum indingnatione magna, versus Westmonasterium, missis clandestinis litteris quibusdam civibus London., ut januas custodiendo baronibus interdiceretur ingressus, fere proditus fuit ille nobilis S. de M. F., qui extra civitatem in suburbio Fol. 101, r°, a. Suthwerk cum suis aderat, paucis respectu regis exercitus, qui magnus erat et admirabilis. Dispositis namque turmis haud longe ab eo loco, ad ipsum affligendum nichil tale præmeditantem, appropinquabat exercitus, et ad eum capiendum progreditur securus; sed comperta proditione, clamoreque per totam civitatem elevato, Londonienses, quorum corda barones habuerunt propitia, cum impetu fortitudinis inmensæ cathenas frangunt, portas aperiunt, et ad eum succurrendum catervatim accurrunt. Rex autem, congnitam per exploratores infinitam Londoniensium multitudinem exisse, et ei in auxilium venire, exercitum suum jussit reverti. Sic, volente Deo, comes illo die de manu hostili ereptus est. Facta inquisitione postea diligenti, inventi sunt iiij. cives autoritatis mangnæ, qui proditionem illam conspiraverant; de quibus judicium nequaquam permisit comes pietate plenus, sed redemptionem ab eis accipiens non modicam, ad roborandum cathenas civitatis assignavit, dictos proditores custodiæ mancipando, de quibus postea dicetur.

Rex Angliæ et barones se submittunt judicio regis Franciæ, de discordia mota.

Hiis ita gestis, de pace hinc inde componenda elaboratum est, tam a parte regis Franciæ, quam Pontificum regis Angliæ instanter. Tandem vero submittentibus se per compromissionem, rex Angliæ et barones, in dicto et ordinatione regis Franciæ, super contentionibus provisiones Oxon. contingentibus, necnon et deprædationibus et rapinis hinc inde factis multipliciter; post nathale Domini mittuntur in Franciam nuncii a parte regis et baronum, ad recipiendum quod super hiis dominus rex duxerit ordinandum.

Rex Franciæ pronuntiat judicium contra barones Angliæ pro rege, et fit variatio misera magnatum et divisio.

Igitur in crastino beati Vincentii martiris, congregato Ambiani populo innumerabili, rex Franciæ Lodowicus coram episcopis, Fol. 101, r°, b. comitibus, baronibus, et aliis Franciæ proceribus, propositis rationibus a partibus utrisque ac intellectis, protulit dictum suum

et sententiam solempniter pro rege Angliæ contra barones; statutis Oxon., provisionibus, ordinationibus, ac obligationibus penitus annullatis; hoc excepto quod antiquæ cartæ regis J., universitati Angliæ concessæ per illam sententiam in nullo intendebat derogare, sed decrevit eam inviolabiliter observari. Quæ quidem exceptio comitem Leycestriæ et cæteros qui habebant sensus magis exercitatos, firmiter tenui in proposito suo ad conservandum statuta Oxon., quia super illam cartam fundata fuerant. Huic Parliamento in Francia fuit rex Angliæ et regina Alienora, Archiepiscopus Cant. Bonefacius, Petrus Herefordensis Episcopus, Johannes Maunsel, qui baronibus quanta potuerunt mala non cessavit machinari. Ab hoc tempore factus est novissimus pejor priore: multi etenim magnates seditionis maculam incurrendo, a fidelitate qua comiti Leycestriæ tenebantur astricti, spreto juramento, recesserunt; et exercitui regis, non sine donis et amplis promissionibus, se sociaverunt. Henricus filius regis Almanniæ, quanto magis spes comitis in illo posita fuerat ut opus inceptum bono fine concluderet, tanto amplius famam suam vel tunc vel post denigrabat sua conversio; accepto namque honore de Tykehille a domino Edwardo sibi collato, accessit ad consulem, dicens, "Domine comes, non habeatis pro malo, licentiam a vobis accipio, ut ita verbis utar communibus. Contra patrem meum regem Alman. et avunculum meum regem Angliæ, et affines meos, non possum amplius militare: licenciatus a vobis recedo. Verumptamen contra vos nuncquam arma portabo." Cui consul hillariter respondens, ait, "Domine Henrice, non propter arma, sed quia constantiam de vobis specialem sperabam, vestram personam præcordialiter habui commendatam. Ite, et cum armis vestris redite; ea non formido!" Et addidit, "Etsi omnes universaliter a me declinent, ego cum Fol. 101, v°, a.
iiij. filiis meis, pro causa justa quam semel juravi tenere, ad honorem ecclesiæ et utilitatem regni, securus astabo, nec bellum subire trepidabo." Et dixit secretioribus suis, "In multis terris et

provinciis diversarum nationum, tam paganorum quam christianorum, extiti: sed in nullis gentibus tantam infidelitatem et deceptionem repperi, quantam in Anglia jam expertus sum." Rogerus de Clifford, Rogerus de Leyburne, Johannes de Vallibus, Hamo le Estrange, et multi tam marchiones quam alii naturales terræ, quorum nomina non teneo, terris redditibus et provisionibus excæcati, se subtraxerint: unde quidam videns tot nobiles recalcitrare, ait per metrum sic.

Plange plorans, Anglia, plena jam dolore!
Tristis vides tristia, languens cum mœrore;
Nisi te respiciat Christus suo more,
Eris vile canticum hostium in ore.

Pepigerunt plurimi salvam te salvare,
Sed jam nimis necgligunt pactum procurare:
Nam se quidam retrahunt, qui possunt juvare;
Quidam subterfugium quærunt ultra mare.

Hinc est quod incipiunt cæteri certare,
Et in partes varias animos mutare;
Dum quæ sic dissentiunt nolunt concordare,
Sed incepta nequeunt bene terminare.

Sic respublica perit, terra desolatur;
Invalescit extera gens et sublimatur:
Vilescit vir incola, et subpeditatur;
Sustinet injurias, non est qui loquatur.

Tam miles quam clericus ambo fiunt muti;
Facti sunt extranei loquaces hastuti:

Inter centum Anglicos non sunt duo tuti;
Planctum et obprobrium jam sunt assecuti.

O comes Gloverniæ! comple quod cepisti;
Nisi claudas congrue, multos decepisti.
Age nunc viriliter, sicud promisisti;
Causam fove fortiter, cujus fons fuisti.

Si, quod absit! subtrahas manum et levamen,
Terræ fraudem faciens, inferens gravamen:
. . . .
Maledictus maneat! fiat! fiat! Amen. Fol. 101, v°, b.

Comes Simon de Muntford, vir potens et fortis!
Pungna nunc pro patria, sisque dux cohortis:
Non te minæ terreant neque timor mortis,
Rem defende pupplicam resque tuæ sortis.

O tu, comes le Bygot! pactum serva sanum:
Cum sis miles strenuus, nunc exerce manum.
Totam turbat modica terram turba canum;
Exeat aut pereat genus tam prophanum.

O vos magni proceres, qui vos obligastis
Observare firmiter illud quod jurastis!
Terræ si sit utile quod excogitastis,
Juvet illud citius id quod ordinastis.

Si velletis prosequi quod jam incohastis,
Consequi poteritis quod desiderastis;
Nisi finem capiat quod diu tractastis,
Vere dici poterit, "vane laborastis!"

Honor vobis maximus erit laus et dingna,
Si respiret Anglia, vestra gerens singna;
Quam ut cito liberet a peste malingna,
Adjuvet nunc Domini pietas beningna!

Hostes comitis insurgunt in ipsum in Marchia.

Prædicto modo proceribus variantibus, Rogerus de Mortuomari potenter insurgens contra consulem, terras ipsius, prædia, et dominica in Marchia deprædatur. Consul autem jam sibi in amicitias copulato principe Walliæ Leuelino, præclarum illic misit exercitum, qui et terras illius partim destruxit, et castrum Sadonorum cepit et combussit. In cujus succursum cum Edwardus de partibus rediens transmarinis, copia militari stipatus convalescet, barones insecutus est; nec tamen eos agreditur, quia nullus inter eos factus congressus. Castra autem Humfridi de Boun, junioris, Hay et Huntindon, obsedit Edwardus et cepit, et similiter Brecon.; quæ omnia cum provincia appendentia prædicto Rogero tradidit custodiendum.

De destructione Wygorn. per comitem de Ferrariis.

Per idem tempus Robertus de Ferreriis Comes Derebi, cum exercitu magno, venit Wygorn.; cui cum cives muralia civitatis et portas civitatis custodiendo viriliter restitissent, tandem ex inopinato per vetus castrum intravit, villam destruxit, et judaismum evertit. Iste verbotenus quin pocius fraudulenter consuli adhærens, in nullo bello cum eo contra partem adversam congressus est, nec etiam vocatus in succursum apud Lewes venire voluit; sed tam viros religiosos quam seculares undique deprædando nomine baronum infinita mala perpetravit, parta regis destruxit etiam post pacem clamatam, et de quadam littera proditoria inter ipsum et

Fol. 102, r°, a.

marchiones composita, pace aliquantula terræ reddita, acusatur, capitur London., carceri mancipatur, sicuti postea suo loco dicetur.

De destructione Glovern. per dominum Edwardum.

Barones redeuntes de confinio Walliæ, terra comitis Leyc. ab incursione hostium liberata, urbem Gloucest. non viribus vel obsidione, sed quadam cautela, intraverunt. Edwardus autem subito veniens a tergo, ponte super ripam Sabrine celeriter reparato, qui prius a prædicto exercitu fuerat combustus, castellum intravit, baronum præsentia non absente. Ibi non erat consul S. de Monteforti, sed Henricus filius ejus, et Johannes Giffard, et multi nobiles. Inter quos in crastino, Waltero Wigorn. episcopo mediante, et Edwardi astutia vulpeculariter operante, captæ sunt induciæ, exercitu baronum ab urbe recedente. Edwardus ergo urbem cum castro sic adeptus, burgenses incarceravit, et villam ad M. libras miserabiliter redemit.

Rex, absolutus a juramento, proponit omnes civitates et castra de manibus baronum excutere.

Anno gratiæ M°. cc. lxiiij., cum dominus rex super juramento suo specialem obtinuisset absolutionem, missis paulo ante ad Romanam curiam legatis pro causa eadem, convocavit exercitum suum apud Windeshore, ad tractandum de hiis quæ tractatu indigebant salubri. Ad quod parleamentum cum venissent rex Almanniæ, dominus Edwardus, comites et barones in multitudine mangna loricatorum et diversorum apparatuum, dum super iminenti necessitate prolixius tractassent, visum est eis felicius et expedientius, percurrendo castra, civitates, et munitiones sibi rebelles, potenter subjugare. Ad iter ergo se accingentes, universi versus Norhamton. cum omni alacritate suas dirigunt expeditiones; et per Waling. Fol. 102, r°, b.

dietas duas perficiendo, Oxon. pervenit, universitatem cleri ad tempus expulsit, suspicans quod exercitu suo fraudem machinarentur, si forte supervenirent barones, qui corda cleri ad modum habebant propicia. Erat enim clericorum numerus, quorum nomina scripta fuerant in matriculis rectorum, excedens xv. M., multis fidedingnis hoc idem referentibus. Rex, facta solempni processione, elemosinis autem pauperibus habundanter erogatis, sanctam Fredeswidam virginem infra muros civitatis adiit personaliter et devote; quod nullus regum Angliæ ante ipsum in persona propria ausus fuit vel præsumpsit. Causam vero qui scire voluerit, Gesta Regum Angliæ diligenter revolvat, et fere in fine inveniet. Interim Edwardus et cæteri mangnates in partibus illis, barones et partes adversæ, depopulari terras, et maneria alterius cujuscumque incendere et destruere, non destiterunt. Londonienses, cum innumera multitudine, ab urbe sua irruentes, prædia et possessiones regis Almanniæ et P. Basset, aliorumque adhærentium combusserunt; clericos regis, et barones de scaccario, et justiciarios de banco, ceperunt et incarceraverunt. Ab hinc rex Almanniæ de feroci factus ferocior, nimis indingnans quod Londonienses primo in eum insurrexerunt, manerium suum non longe a London. comburendo, missis de suis, circumquaque, præcepit ut quæcumque in burgo vel extra burgum invenirentur de civibus London., inmisericorditer caperentur. Johannes comes Warenniæ, licenciatus a rege Oxon. commorante, cum exercitu suo, assumpto secum Rogero de Leyburne et aliis in multitudine Fol. 102, v°, a. mangna, in partes orientales se contulit, ut castrum suum de Reygate, et partes circumjacentes, ab irreptionibus Londoniensium defensaret: sed qualiter in castro de Rofa fugatur et obsidetur, dicetur postea.

De captione Norhamton. cum magna parte exercitus baronum.

Cum moram per aliquot tempus seu dies protraherent apud Oxon., rex Angliæ et rex Almanniæ cum exercitu suo, jam ad assiliandam civitatem Norhamptunniæ parati, accedunt aliqui, specialiter a priore Norhamtunniæ ad hoc destinati, qui regi innotescunt, qualiter civitatem prædictam sine alicujus contradictionis obstaculo ingredi et subpeditare potuissent. Prior enim ejusdem loci, concipiens indignationem versus barones, vel forte tanquam alienigena commotus, conventione facta de compatriotis suis Pictavensibus per ordinationem baronum, in parte prioratui proxima, civibus ingnorantibus, murum occulte suffodere vulpina diligentia procuravit; materiis ligneis subtus positis, quibus ad tempus fallibiliter sustentaretur, signoque prudenter aptato, ut superveniente rege de loco rex certificaretur. Hujus sceleris certissime reus habebatur, quia, concessa cælitus victoria postmodum baronibus, eadem causa carceri mancipatus est. Die igitur statuto, post mediam quadragesimæ, profecti sunt dominus Rex Angliæ et Rex Almanniæ, cum exercitu magno et mirabili, vexillis explicatis; venientesque ad civitatem prædictam, eam vallaverunt. Cives autem de loci munitione confisi, prælocutam proditionem penitus ignorantes, ac receptis arrais, ad defensionem viriliter convolarunt, ad suam utique confusionem et dolosam miseriam. Nam dum una pars exercitus, consilio regis disponente, circa portas more assultationis occuperetur, dominus rex, stipatus sua milicia, urbem circumiens, loco prætitulato aptanter considerato, murum leviter prosternentes, urbem ingrediuntur, universa infra contenta variæ subdentes dispersioni. Sicque fit ut hii, qui nimis præsumptuose credebant civitatem multo tempore, contra quoslibet adversarios, propriis viribus custodire, saltem usque ad adventum Comitis Leycest., qui procurabat cum exercitu suo ut illis succureret, subita

Fol. 102, v°, b.

seditione præocupati, viliter traduntur hostilitati. Capta est igitur civitas, in vigilia passionis Domini, anno gratiæ M°. cc. lxiiij. Symon vero junior de Monte-forti, filius Comitis, exiens de castro ut venienti exercitui cum civibus pro posse resisteret, eodem die captus est. In crastino autem milites qui erant in castro, licet festinans subsidium a comite sperarent, tamen de tam subita [et] inopinata urbis captione admodum consternati, et civium auxilio destituti, compulsi sunt in seditionem. Capti sunt igitur in castro xv. vexilliferi et milites lx., cum suis satellitibus quorum non erat numerus; et in captivitatem sunt abducti.

Properat comes ad succurrendum Norhamton. Sed infecto negotio redit quantocius. Et multi Judæi trucidantur in London., qui conspiraverant ad proditionem faciendam.

Comes autem S. tunc temporis Lond. commorans, nondum de captione urbis sed de iminente obsidione certificatus, convocatis undique copiis militaribus, civibusque London. sibi associatis, in succursum properabat; perveniensque apud sanctum Albanum, ac ibidem quieti paulisper vacans ut exercitum suum repausaret, de dicta captione certæ nunciantur ei relationes: quibus auditis, in lamentationem se dederunt universi; sed comes nil desperans, sciens hanc esse legem bellorum, ut nunc hii nunc illi variis eventibus fiunt superiores, suos consolans, ad civitatem London. Fol. 103, r°, a. reversus est. Sed illo nondum territorio sancti Albani egresso, quoddam notabile verbum Hugoni Dispensatori et suis secretioribus dixit: "Ecce, lætificati sunt admodum, et elati de præsenti eventu, scilicet de captione prædicta: pro certo sciatis, non præteribit mensis Maij, quin adeo confusi erunt et metificati, quod oblivioni tradetur omnis eorum lætitia moderna." Quod utique ita contigit apud Lewes, ubi occubuerunt regales et triumpharunt barones, sicud infra dicetur. In ipsa dominica passionis, Judæi apud Londoniam de quadam proditione baronibus simul et civibus inferendo deprehensi, fere omnes trucidati sunt, thesauro incomparabili assumpto in Judaismo. Eadem etiam septimana Johannes Giffard, miræ probitatis et audax miles, cum aliis custodiæ castri de Kelingw. deputatis, quod quidem comes Leyc. mirabile structura atque reparatione firmaverat, ac machinis multimodis hactenus etiam nobis inauditis, et viris mirabiliter instruerat, castrum Warewykeye ceperunt; ac comitem honoris ejusdem, scilicet Willelmum Maudut, eo quod super conversione sua nuper ad regem suspectus fuerat, eisdem cum uxore sua et familia adduxerunt captivum, et apud Kelinworthe incarceraverunt. Castrum autem de Warwik, ne regales refugium haberent ibidem, subverserunt.

De obsidione Roucestriæ.

Post festum Pascæ, S. de Monte-Forti et cæteri barones sibi persistentes, adjuncta sibi London. manu auxiliatrici, castrum Roucestriæ obsederunt, in quo Johannes de Warenna, comes Arundelis, et Henricus de Percy et Rogerus de Leyburn, et multi nobiles qui de prædicto colloquio Oxon. recedentes, et ad partes custodiendas illas a rege deputati fuerant, introducti sunt. Comes de Leycestria, vir in omnibus circumspectus, machinas et alia ad expungnationem castri necessaria secum a civitate London. per aquam et per terram transvehi præcepit, quibus inclusos vehementer inpugnavit, nec eos indulgere quieti permisit, exemplum relinquens Anglicis qualiter circa castrorum assultationes agendum sit, qui penitus hujusmodi diebus illis fuerant ignari. Quandam navem comparatam jussit lignis aridis usque ad summum adimpleri, adipem et arvinam inponens, et alia incendiorum irritamenta fomitem ignibus præstantia. Onerata igitur navi lignorum strue maxima, et ex ea parte collocata qua fulciretur venti vehementia, Fol. 103, r°, b.

ignem jubet inponi et usque ad pontem navem aptari, cæteris audacter cum balistis et sagittarum jaculis urbem assilientibus. Flamma ergo invalescens ponitur, et portam in momento combussit, fugientibus in summitatem turris magnatibus qui fuerant inclusi. Suburbio taliter adepto, cum magna parte castri, ad expugnationem turris, bellicis insultibus et machinarum ictibus iisque subterraneis, omnes animantur.

Rex in partibus aquilonaribus inimicos suos destruens, festinat ad solvendum obsidionem Roucestriæ.

Rex autem, capta Norhamptun., Leycestr. tendens, in ea hospitatus est, quam nullus regni præter eum etiam videre, prohibentibus quibusdam superstitiose, præsumpsit. Deinde ad Notingham, et castrum intravit, nullo sibi resistente; nam qui intus erant ex parte baronum obviam ei processerunt, et claves ei tradiderunt. Venerunt ibi ad regem, de partibus aquilonaribus, nobiles in auxilium, videlicet Johannes de Baylol, Robertus de Brus, Petrus de Brus, et alii barones plures, cum multis milibus armatorum; ubi dominus tenens festum Pascale, misit filium suum Edwardum in Derebysire et Stafford. cum exercitu præclarissimo, qui terras et maneria Roberti de Ferers comitis Derebi vastando atque incendendo, necnon castrum ejus de Tettebur. prosternendo, destructionem ei intulit miserabilem. Tandem rex certificatus super Fol. 103, v°, a. assultis ferocissimis Rowcestriæ, sciens obsessorum captionem in suum redundare obprobrium et contumeliam, magna sub festinatione gressus suos retrorsum dirigens, illuc properavit, in arto positis auxilio indigentibus subministrare. In tantum in illa expeditione festinavit, quod equi electissimi labore fatigati extincti sunt. Comes autem Leycest. comperiens regem cum exercitu suo supervenire, licet turrim jam expugnacio (*sic*) in proximo fuisset adepturus, obsidione gratis soluta, in civitatem London. cum suis reversus est. Rex igitur, proceribus suis, ab hostili manu taliter liberatis, partes adiit maritimas, ut barones quinque portuum sibi rebelles et indomitos ad debitam compelleret subjectionem; quorum quidam parti regis adhæserunt, quidam vero puppibus onustis et hiis qui victui erant necessaria oneratis, in mari se subtraxerunt.[1]

Barones se præparant ad bellum, castra moventes de London.

Interea comite egregio London. moram commitante, et in causa zelo justitiæ concepta fideliter desudante, ac sedula frequentatione tractante qualiter incepta felicem sortirentur consummationem, episcopis, clericis, et discretis viris utriusque conditionis, cleri scilicet et populi, crebros habuit tractatus et deliberationes. Tandem habito consilio super præmissis, cunctisque considerantibus jam tempus appropinquare quo partem adversam optata circumvenirent, qui in adversione super hoc descenderunt, et decreverunt, ut, oblata domino regi condigna summa pecuniæ pro deprædationibus per regnum factis, regi reconciliarentur, salvis statutis Oxon., aut inito certamine campestri experirentur cui sors victoriam conferre videretur. Viribus igitur undique congregatis, tam Londoniensium, quorum numerus crevit ad xv. millia hominum, quam aliorum innumerabilium ad exercitum comitis circumquaque convolantium, Fol. 103, v°. b. illuc tandem impetu vehementi contendunt. Pervenientes autem apud Flexingge in Suthsex, sexto circiter miliario a prioratu de Lewes, ubi morabatur rex et ejus exercitus, nudius tertius ante bellum domino regi tale dirigunt mandatum.

Littera missa domino regi ante bellum.

Excellentissimo domino H., Dei gratia Regi Angliæ, &c. barones et alii fideles sui, sacramentum suum et fidelitatem Deo et sibi debitam observare volentes, salutem et debitum cum omni reverentia et honore famulatum. Cum per plura experimenta liqueat, quod quidam nobis assistentes multa de nobis mendacia vestræ dominationi suggesserunt, mala quantum possunt non solum nobis sed etiam vobis et toti regno vestro intentantes; noverit excellentia vestra quod salutem et securitatem corporis vestri totis viribus cum fidelitate vobis debita volumus observare, inimicos nostros non solum sed vestros et totius regni vestri juxta posse gravare proponentes, aliud super prædictis si placet non credatis: nos enim [et] nostri fideles semper inveniemur. Et nos S. de M. F. comes Leyc., et Gilbertus de Clare, ad petitionem aliorum pro nobis et ipsis, præsentibus sigilla nostra apposuimus. Ista littera missa fuit domino regi ante bellum. Datum apud Flexing, &c. Hanc epistolam baronum suorum contempnens rex, ad bellum totis affectibus exardescit, ac talem litteram eis diffidationis responsalem direxit.

Qualiter rex diffidavit barones suos.

Henricus Dei gratia &c. Simoni de Monte Forti et Gilberto de Clare, et suis complicibus. Cum per guerram et turbationem in nostro regno generalem, per vos jam subortas, necnon et incendia et alia dampna enormia, appareat manifeste quod fidelitatem vestram nobis debitam non observastis, nec de securitate corporis nostri in aliquo curastis, eo quod magnates et alios fideles nostros nostræ fidei constanter adhærentes enormiter gravastis, et ipsos pro posse vestro gravare propositis, sicud per litteras vestras nobis significastis, Nos gravamen ipsorum nostrum proprium, et inimicos eorum nostros reputamus; præcipue cum dicti fideles pro fidelitate sua conservanda, contra fidelitatem vestram nobis viriliter resistunt; de vestra securitate vel amore non curamus, sed vos tamquam nostrorum et eorum inimicos diffidamus. Teste me ipso apud Lewes, xij. die Maij, anno regni nostri xlviij.

Fol. 104, r°, a.

Qualiter rex Alemanniæ, et Edwardus, et regi assistentes, diffidaverunt barones.

Ricardus, Dei gratia Romanorum rex semper augustus, et Edwardus illustris regis Angliæ primogenitus, cæterique barones omnes et nobiles regni Angliæ, constanter sinceræ fidei et devotionis operibus adhærentes, S. de M. F. et G. de Clare, cæterisque universis et singulis perfidiæ suæ complicibus. Ex litteris vestris, quas illustri regi Angliæ domino nostro karissimo transmisistis, accepimus nos esse diffidatos a vobis, et quamvis hujusmodi verba vel desideratio satis fuit, autem nobis realiter vestra hostilitas in rerum nostrarum incendiis et bonorum nostrorum depopulationibus persecutione jam probatur. Nos igitur vos scire volumus, vos a nobis universis et singulis tanquam hostes puplicos ab hoste diffidatos, qui deinceps rerum et personarum vestrarum dispendiis, ubicumque nobis ad hoc facultas affuerit, totis viribus insistemus. De hoc autem quod falso nobis inponitis, quod nec fidele nec bonum consilium ipsi regi domino nostro damus, nequaquam verum dicitis. Et si vos, domine Simon de Monte-Forti et Gilberte de Clare, velitis in curia domini regis asserere, parati sumus vobis ad veniendum ad dictam curiam procurare conductum, et nostræ super hoc innocentiæ necessitatem, et vestrum sicud perfidorum et proditorum mendacium declarare, per alium nobilitate et genere nobis parem. Omnes autem nos contenti sumus prædictorum dominorum sigillis, videlicet Romanorum regis et domini Edwardi. Datum ut prius. Fol. 104, r°, b.

Supplicant barones ut pax vera formetur; sed, omnino de pace desperati, procedunt ad bellum.

Mittuntur insuper pacis mediatores, optimi et ecclesiastici, fervidi honoris zelatores, Henricus de Lond. et Walterus de Cantelupa, Winton. episcopi, pro deprædationibus per regnum factis xxx. libr. ex parte baronum domino regi offerentes, salvis tamen per omnia statutis Oxon.; qui sine difficultate regis Angliæ animum ad mansuetudinem inclinassent, nisi regis Alman. reclamatio restitisset. Iste quidem cum tanta nobilitate pollens, et ut nullus in terra videbatur ei similis, indignans quod aliquis in ipsum insurgere præsumebat, pro direptionibus sibi factis pacem tunc temporis perturbavit, et de gentis suæ innumerositate confidens, dictum comitem et ejus complices, sicut per litteras suas super annotatas manifeste apparet, diffidavit, necnon ut Edwardus eosdem diffidaret callide procuravit, ad ultionem in barones exercendam totis conatibus insistens. Cumque redissent hii qui fuerant secum responsa deferentes, suggesserunt comiti partem adversam bellum finaliter expectare, et ad id omnino etiam sua robora præparare. Londonienses vero voce præconia per totum noctis spacium ad arma præparanda indulserunt. Comes autem de Monte-Forti totam noctem ducens insompnus, more solito, divinis vacabat operibus, commilitones suos exhortans verbis et provocans exemplis, ut peragant confessiones in spiritu humilitatis et animo contrito, et sic purificatis mentibus ab omni sorde peccati, certamini, zelo justitiæ incepto, se committant intrepidi, eo certiores de victoria quo Deus est in causa. Aderat etiam et ille Christi miles, W. de Cantelupo, Wygorniensis episcopus, illius causæ prosecutor indefessus Fol. 104, v°, a. et comitis Simonis comes, individuis omnibus absolutionem delictorum impendens, et secure promittens remissionem delictorum omnibus, qui viriliter in agone decertassent, adjungens gloriosum et meritorium esse pro assertione veritatis subire tormentum. Certificati igitur de prælio in crastino committendo, edicitur publice quatinus ante solis ortum ereptis armis exeant de boscis ubi magna pars exercitus pernoctabat, et conveniant extra villam de Flexinge, quæ distat de Lewes per sex miliaria, singulis vexillis singulis legionibus, juxta rei militaris disciplinam, assignatis, ordinem procedendi et modum congressionis a campi ductore accepturi. Igitur comes, qui a juventutis flore in militari frequentia tempus suum compleverat, expetissime per diversas regiones famam celeberrimam in æternum adquirendo, dispositis aciebus, modos procedendi et bellicæ congressionis omnes, tanquam penitus ignarios, evidenter instruxit. In præsenti quidem certamine ad suæ laudis augmentationem, in secundo ad sui ruinam et humiliationem, quia qui cum eo manducaverunt levabant contra eum calcaneum suum, et mala pro bonis ei retribuebant, sicut infra dicetur; et præcipue G. de Clare, quem comes S. in ista expeditione gladio cinxit militari, cum multis aliis qui satis strenue agebant. Cunctis igitur montem, qui distat a Lewes duobus miliaribus, summo mane ascensis, currum suum infra sarcinarum et summarum strictissime collocatum, vexillo ipsius ex industria desuper imposito, circumseptum cum multis armatis montem, palam hostibus procedere disponit, ipso exercitu suo partes collaterales tenente et eventum rei præstollante. In quo quidem curru introducti fuerunt iiij. cives London., de quibus prædictum est, qui in proditionem comitis faciendam conspiraverant. Ista autem facta sunt ad cautelam. Contigit autem paulo ante, cum iter faceret, ut equus cui insedit fortuito casu pede offenso corruens in terram, et ipse caderet, tibiam suam fregit, sed cum aliquantulum, Deo volente, convalescebat, compellente necessitate, de loco ad locum per dies aliquot vehebatur; quod videntes ipsius æmuli, secus veritatem, credentes ipsum omni vigore militari privatum, forsitan ad prælium audacius festinabant. Ordinatis igitur agminibus, et oratione pariter et admonitione persuasoria a duce eorum facta, animantur omnes ad pugnandum cum securitate, cruces albas in dorso et pectore super arma sua portantes, ad seipsos cognoscendum inter hostes, et ad designandum quod pro justitia dimicabant. Rex vero et

Fol. 104, vº. b.

ejus exercitus, qui supra modum extitit formidabilis, comperto eorum subito superventu, expergefacti quam citius ut arma colligantur, et ordinatis agminibus ad congrediendum, expansisque vexillis, una cum signo regio judicium mortis præcedente, quod draconem vocant, progrediuntur: quibus barones cum ingenti strepitu tubarum, tamen de viribus suis præsumentes, quia pauci erant respectu cæterorum, sed spem firmissimam in Deo habentes,

De miserabili conflictu apud Lewes.

Laxatis hinc inde cuneis, quam citius utrobique in hostem seipsos inmittunt; sicque ictuum inmanitate ac horrendo fragore, partibus sibi invicem terribiliter obviantibus, consertum est prælium omnibus admirabile. Hac baronum acie penetrata et dissoluta, captus est Johannes Giffard, miles strenuus, qui gloriam primi ictus præripere affectaverat, et ad castrum abducitur. Edwardus militis egregii notam adeptus merito, sicut cervus fontes Fol. 105, r°, a. aquarum, sic sitiens sanguinem inimicorum suorum Londoniens. exercitui, quibus præerant Henricus de Hastinges et Herveus de Borham, vexilliferi eorum, se misetur(?) eosque fugientes insequitur quatuor circiter miliaria, stragem ex eis faciendo miserrimam. Horum sanguinem, nimirum, pro materno siciebat obprobrio; qui, ut prædictum est, genitrici suæ Londoniis tot convitia dudum intulerunt. Interim multi potentes, cum magna parte regii exercitus, spoliis et prædis ac sarcinarum direptionibus inhiantes, supra montem considerantes currum consulis cum vexillo desuper extento, illuc tendunt impetu rapidissimo, intra præoccupatum gladio recipere sperantes, quem a tergo cædem copiosam faciendo suscipiunt nescientes; sicque fit ut qui credebant comitem reperisse, quosdam cives London., de quibus prætactum est, ex cautela introductos tricidarunt, qui etiam suæ parti faciebant. Sed comes, bellator sagacissimus, et G. de Clare, cæterique barones, circa deditionem regis Angliæ et captionem regis Almanniæ totis conaminibus instabant, ut percusso pastore dispergerentur oves, et apparuit ibi virtus fulminea baronum, dum unanimiter pro patria dimicantes demum victoria fruuntur clarissima. Porro multi nobiles ex parte adversa, videlicet, Johannes comes de Warenna, Willelmus de Walencia, Guido de Lithiniaco, ambo fratres regis, Hugo Bygot, et multi alii circiter ccc. loricati, suorum ruinam aspicientes, et baronum ferocem audaciam qui veluti leones rugientes impetum faciebant in hostes animarum suarum, saluti consulentes terga verterunt, et sic optento fugæ præsidio periculum iminens evadentes, equorum velocitate vecti in castrum de Pevenesia se receperunt. Rex igitur Angliæ, equo sub se confosso, redditus est eis. Rex Almanniæ captus, et ad M. ducitur. Capti sunt etiam isti, videlicet, Johannes de Baylol, Robertus de Brus, Johannes Comin, et cæteri barones de Albenia, peditibus quos secum adduxerunt de Scotia jugulatis numero grandi. Capiuntur etiam Humfridus de Boun comes Hereford., Johannes filius Alani comes Arundel., Willelmus Bardolf, Robertus de Tateshale, Rogerus de Someri, Henricus de Percy, Philippus Basset, prior jure numerandus, qui præ cæteris eo die cum rege existentibus in ictibus dandis et recipiendis gloriam promeruit. Multi quoque alii quasi tocius regni potentiores ac in militia præstantiores partim capti sunt, partim fuge indulserunt, adeo instanter quod duo fugarunt x. milia, cæteris qui remanserunt ad duo milia, vel plus, prochdolor! interemptis. O miserabile spectaculum! dum filius in patrem, pater in filium, affinis autem in affinem, concivis in concivem, ensibus hinc inde terribiliter fulminantibus, et occisorum cruore inebriatis, nititur insurgere prosternendo, mutillando, sub equis pedibus conculcando, et quos vivos capiunt vinculis artissimis constringendo. De exercitu regis ceciderunt justiciarii regis, nomine Willelmus de Wilton. et Fulco filius Warrini, in numero occisorum excellentiores,

Fol. 105, rº, b.

alter gladio percussus, alter in flumine vicino submersus; a parte baronum, Radulfus Heringaud baro, et Willelmus Blundus vexillarius consulis. Ex utraque parte dicuntur cecidisse ad v. milia virorum.

De secundo congressu, cum Edwardus redisset a fuga Lond.

Edwardus a cæde rediens Londoniensium, de patre ejus rege et avunculo rege Alm. cæteri triumphum reportassent, de prædicta fuga in London. facta multipliciter fatigatus, tamen resumptis viribus eos bello aggredi denuo disponit. Cum igitur se invicem fere offendissent, ecce omnes qui quasi cum eo steterant fugam inierunt. Fol. 105, v°, a. Dissolvit namque Deus fortitudinem eorum, solutoque robore brachiorum, adeo sunt privati ut quidam nec gladio percutere nec se in suis ictibus cognoscere valuerunt. Quod ageret Edwardus, qui, commilitonibus dispersis sic, quasi solus in campo remanserat, fugiens in prioratum de Lewes vindictam ad tempora distulit meliora. Nocte vero sequenti pax quædam inter barones et regem reformata est, et Edwardus, patre annuente, et Henricus filius regis Almanniæ dati sunt obsides pacis, et ad tempus etiam custodiæ mancipantur. Prædicto modo barones, (apud quos in omnibus et per omnia una fides, una voluntas fuit, amor et Dei et proximi, qui sic erant affectione fraterna unanimes, quod [*vacat*] pro patria non timuerunt, qui non solum regis offensionem incurrere, verum etiam pro justitia mortem pati maluerunt, quam fidem et sacramentum suum violare,) contra omnium oppinionem et omnium adjurationem campum cum victoria gloriosa mirabiliter adepti sunt, victoriam et laudem eis attribuentes cujus auxilio suffulti tam mortalem conflictum subeundo victores extiterunt.

. . . . quamvis orta fuit Fol. 110, v°, b. discordia inter comitem Gloverniæ et comitem Leycestriæ, cum quibus armati convenerunt, moventes in Marchia baronibus recalcitrare moliuntur. Comes Symon, copulato sibi in amicitias Lewelino principe Walliæ, partes illas adiit cum exercitu ingenti, et castra de Hereford et Haye subjugavit, terras, prædia dominica Rogeri de Mortuo Mari igni tradens ubique et depopulationi. Hugo de Mortuo Mari coactus reddidit se eis, suo castello quod dicitur Ricardi, et cæteris terris suis custodiæ Johanni filio Johannis commendatis. Castrum etiam de Ludelauue subjugatum est. Exinde progreditur exercitus Anglorum et Walensium ad Montem Gomerici, ubi prædictus Rogerus, datis obsedibus, pacem cum baronibus inivit, frustratoriam sicut in fine patebit.

Eodem tempore comes Warennæ, Hugo Bigot, Willelmus de Walence, et fratres ejus cæteri qui cum eis de bello Lewensi, sicut prædictum est, fugiendo discesserunt, tam necessitate coacti, quam hostili manu subsequentium perterriti, transfretantes nunciaverunt reginæ, quæ tunc temporis in partibus morabatur transmarinis, omnia quæ facta sunt; similiter et regi Franciæ et ejus fratri domino Karolo, regum Angliæ et Almanniæ captionem intimantes, supplicantes pro succursu et eorumdem liberatione. Sed hac vice sua petitione frustrati recesserunt. Regina vero et Bonefacius archiepiscopus Cantuariæ, Petrus de Sabaudia, cæterique Fol. 111, r°, a. parentes ejus, consilium inientes, congregaverunt principes, duces, comites, et barones, et quasi tocius Europæ fortitudinem, proponentes Angliam hostiliter invadere, persistentesque in Flandria et in locis conterminis juxta mare cotidie Angliam ingredi minabantur, coadunata secum tanta navigii multitudine quod vix cuiquam erat credibile. Contra quos nostri congregati, accinxerunt se ad prælium et ad terram defendendam et propria capita. Congregatur Cantuariæ et circa partes maritimas circumquaque omne robur regni, ab unaquaque civitate, urbe, villaque viris regio citatis edicto. Episcopi vero in subsidium hujusmodi a domibus religiosis et ecclesiarum rectoribus, decimam spiritualium receperunt. Videres tunc temporis super Herbaldoune tam equitum quam peditum tantam in unum congregatam multitudinem, contra alienigenas belli potentem, quantam in Anglia non crederes existere. Barones quoque quinque portuum naves et piratas præparantes, turribus ligneis prudenter suppositas, balastariis introducendis, cæterorum adventum audacter sitiebant, nec eorum potentiam ut videbatur in aliquo metuebant. Tandem illa congregatio nobilium dissipata, tam milites stipendiarii quam parentes et amici reginæ qui ad propria stipendia fuerunt, voto suo penitus frustrati, "per aliam viam in regionem suam reversi sunt." Fuerunt qui dicerent, robur eorum et numerum exercitus agnoscentes, quod si libere applicuissent terram hanc, prænimia multitudine sua et fortitudine, ditioni suæ subjugassent; sed conscius secretorum præmeriarum et Deus tocius consolationis, qui voluntates novit omnium et corda Fol. 111, r°, b. scrutatur singulorum, populum suum Anglicanum ab alto prospicere dignatus est. Unde cautorum corda magnanima contabescere jussit, et re inperfecta per quam advenerant tot supervenientes hostes reprimavit. Et licet contra naturalem regni progeniem fieret illa convocatio, tamen ad laudem nobilis reginæ Alienoræ libet intexere, quod domino suo regi et Edwardo tam strenue, tam viriliter, tamquam virago potentissima, succurrendum fortiter insudaverit, exhauste . . . . . . perdito thesauro suo incomparabili.

Nomina Mangnatum qui venturi erant in Angliam, &c.

Isti, immo omnis illa regio et terra usque ad Alpes, instinctu reginæ Angliæ, P. de Sabaudia, electi Lugduonensis, Bonefacii Archiepiscopi Cant. et cæterum parentum nobilium reginæ contra Anglicos conspiraverant, sed et Britannia minor, Vasconia, et Hispannia, cujus terræ regis sororem et filius Edwardus duxerat uxorem, similiter commoti adversus eos odio exarserunt et indignatione. Attamen ille inclitus comes Andegaviæ, Karolus filius Regis Franciæ, parti comitis Leyc. favebat, frater suus ut dicebatur fidei juramento astrictus.

Compositio pacis post bellum de Lewes.

Capitulum primum, super reformatione pacis regni Angliæ et reconciliatione discordiarum in eodem regno motarum vel renovatarum, compromittitur in archiepiscopum Rotomagensem, episcopum Lond., Petrum le Chaumberleyn, et H. justic. Angliæ, et Sabinens. episcopum, apostolicæ tunc sedis legatum, in arbitros seu arbitratores. Data eis in omnibus plena potestate, salvo quod circa captivos vel modum liberationis eorum se nullatenus intromittant. Fol. 111, v°, a. Secundum articulum, quod illud quod iiij. vel tres de personis præscriptis super præmissis in unam concordaverunt sententiam stabitur, eorum diffinitioni quinto minime requirendo; quod si duo concordes fuerint tantum, non utrum eorum stabitur, donec a quinto fuerit approbata, alioquin expirabit arbitrium. Et tunc stabitur illi formæ quam nuper Magister de Templo paulo ante detulit regi Franciæ, donec aliqua forma pacis fuerit provisa. Tertium, quod isti arbitrii jurabunt quod eligent consiliarios indigenas tantum, quos ipsi regi et regno noverunt utiliores. Quartum, quod rex credat consiliariis suis sine personarum acceptione, in justitia exhibenda et in ministris officialibus vel ballivis suis, de Anglicis tantummodo et indigenis creandis, constituendis. Item, antiquas cartas tam de libertatibus quam foresta, et articulos quos contra oppressiones justitiariorum, vicecomitum et aliorum ballivorum faciat, rex inperpetuum observare. Consiliarii etiam provideant, quod rex faciat moderatas expensas, nec in mensas libertates exerceat, donec debitum antiquum fuerit relevatum, et de suo vivere possit absque mercatorum et pauperum gravamine, et in hiis provisionibus rex consiliatorum suorum adquiescet. Quintum, quod arbitrium bona securitate valletur, et eo vallato vel bene firmato et plene, obsides pacis dominus Edwardus, H. de Almanniæ, liberentur, ita quod ante liberationem eorum caveant ydonee de pace observanda, et quod novam guerram aut discordiam non suscitabunt in regno, sed volentibus guerram vel discordiam suscitare, una cum aliis comitibus et baronibus pacem et arbitrium observare volentibus, totis viribus resistere erunt, quod Fol. 111, v°, b. comitibus Leyc. et Glov. et aliis eis adhærentibus plena paretur securitas, ne occasione aliqua prius factorum quoquomodo gravetur in futurum. Septimum, (*sic*) quod cum promissum istud in regno Angliæ tractetur, et infra festum Pascæ proximum ad ultimum terminetur.

Diebus sub eisdem commota turba per orbem universum advolans, sacrosanctam Romanam ecclesiam, tanquam tocius pacis fontem et magistram salvationis eternæ, non mediocri verecundia reddidit agitatam. Missus est igitur in Angliam dominus Sabinensis episcopus, a latere domini papæ legatus cardinalis, ut regis et magnatum corda ad pacem inclinaret, et discordantium mentes, depulso omnimodi rancoris nubilo, concordiæ vinculo solidaret. Denique ad hoc illo in partibus ultramarinis agente, ecce qui ad pristinum statum et tranquillitatem reformandam accedere sperabatur, spem pacis et in desperationem commutando, interdixit portantes vinum, bladum, et hujusmodi victualia humanæ vitæ necessaria in regnum Angliæ, sub pœna excommunicationis inhibendo, ne quis vinum, bladum, et alia mercimonia in prædictum regnum deferret. Citavit insuper quosdam episcopos peremtorie, ut comparerent coram se extra regnum præfixis eis die [et] loco super obedienciam suam. Sententiam excommunicationis fulminavit in comitem Leyc. et ejus filios, Hugonem Dispensatorem, et omnes eis in consilio, auxilio, et favore, habitatores quinque portuum et civitatem London., super ecclesiastico supposuit interdicto, mandatis per litteras suas Londoniæ et Wigorniæ episcopis et omnibus aliis suffraganeis Cantuar. ecclesiæ, et dictis Wigorn. et Lond. injungens unica voce, et virtute obbedienciæ præcipiens, quatinus dictos excommunicatos vitarent in omnibus, et dictas excommunicationis sententias conservarent, et facerent singulis suis civitatibus et diocesis observari. Fol. 112, r°, a. Porro communicato consilio episcopi attendentes, sententiam priorem et contra justitiam illatam, modo subscripto, appellarunt. Omnibus Christi fidelibus &c. Ista appellatio apud Redinges, item communicato consilio tocius cleri, recitatur et approbatur, et sigillis omnibus roboratur. Barones etiam adventum legati merito habentes suspectum, ei negantes ingressum, prædictam appellationem approbant, et quia tocius communitatis res agebatur, eamdem sigillorum munimine roborabant. Ut dicitur, apposita sunt signa abbatum exemptorum et non exemptorum, excepto abbate de sancto Albano, qui prædictas appellationes sigillo suo minime roboravit, propter reverentiam sedis apostolicæ, quem offendere non audebat, sicuti nec debebat, licet a multis multipliciter pulsaretur, et jacturam tam spiritualium quam temporalium bonorum una cum indignatione baronum et episcoporum irreconciliabiliter incurrere formidabat. Alexandro papa debitum universæ carnis persolvente, dictus legatus, modo prædicto perpessus repulsam, remeans, in summum pontificem extitit electus, videlicet die Sanctæ Agathæ Virginis, et die dominica ante carniprivium insigniis papalibus honorifice redimitus, qui postea Ottobonum cardinalem apostolicæ sedis legatum in Angliam direxit, de quo inferius dicetur.

Supradicti marchiones in rebellione more solito surgentes, rupto Fol. 112, r° b. pacis fœdere, et conventione inter eos facta penitus adnullata, dum comes Leycestriæ cum copiis armatorum Marchiam peteret, ut dictum est, perlustrantur provincias ultra Sabrinam et citra cum exercitu suo rapinis et prædis assueto, indigenas circumquaque timore et tremore nimio concutientes, adeo ut ubicumque pervagarent compatriotæ ad ecclesias consurgerent, in cimiteriis domicilia construerent, et latitarent. Auctor hujus mali fuit ille præcipuus Hamo Extraneus, prædo nominatissimus, et alii quam plures, pululante tirannide sua, laxis crudelitatis habenis misere debacchati sunt. Robertus Walrand et Garrinus de Bassinggeburne, custodes Bristoll. armata manu venientes diluculo ad Walingeford, ubi rex Almanniæ etEdwardus obsides captivi tenebantur, insultum dederunt acriter ut eos raperent de custodia, sed nichil profecerunt. Nam castellani quam tocius expergefacti eos repulerunt. Spectaverant hii succursum et auxilium prædictorum marchionum, prout inter eos statutum fuit, qui versus eos cum exercitu iter arripientes, apud Persoram rumores accipientes reversi sunt, ex hoc facto et die anticipato sauciati. Comes Leycestriæ ex eorum rebellione et fide rupta compulsus ad iram, habito super hoc consilio apud Oxoniam, assumpsit secum regem Henricum, qui sine ipso ad illud tempus nichil facere poterat, venerunt Wigorniam cum multitudine magna bellatorum contra marchiones, tanquam regni turbatores et puplicos hostes, dum tacite videbatur tamen quod cor regis una cum suis familiaribus inclinatum erat eis, eo quod pro rege qui in custodia fuerat et occasione Edwardi adhuc obsidis, quem multum dilexerant, guerram moverant. Nam ex bello de Lewes ditionem ac odium trahererant ad invicem incestivum. Præfati marchiones, licet numero pauciores fuissent, tamen de sua audacia præsumentes, ultra fluvium Sabrinæ viribus restituerunt, pontem Wigorn. fortissimum fregerunt et cæteros pontes per ripam civibus transvecturas dimensis in profundum; sed in vanum laboraverunt contra tot nobiles, et præcipue contra ipsum nobilissimum bellatorem S. de M. F. resistere, quin et Lewelinum principem Walliæ jam a finibus suis egressum ad instantiam comitis Leyc., super eos

Fol. 112, v°, a.

a tergo habentes, ad pacem venire compulsi sunt. Igitur ut Edwardus a custodia solveretur, redierunt ad pacem, licet dura fuerat [et] exitialis, nam ut eorum major pars terram Angliæ per annum evacuaret, sanxitum est; malum regno vel proceribus regni interim molituri, sub pœna hæreditatis perpendere; et ad hoc confirmandum tradiderunt castra quæ habuerunt in custodia; comiti Leyc. fere omnia quæ erant per Marchiam a Bristoll. usque ad Cestriam, sed et Cestriæ facto escambio cum comite prædicto; alia castra versus australes partes, Petro de Monteforti et aliis baronibus sunt commissa.

Hiis itaque gestis, rex abiit ad Wodestok, ubi Nathale Domini tenuit solenniter. Sed comes Leyc. qui fertur habuisse c. et lx. milites stipendiarios, præter alios innumeros sibi adhærentes in expeditione, cui omnis Anglia inclinata fuerat et subjecta præter Aquilonem ulteriorem, qui adhuc conspiraverat contra eum instinctu J. de Balyol et regis Scotiæ, a rege nunquam se absentavit, nec aliquod magnum sine illo in regno agebatur, et omnia per ipsum ordinata sunt. Sed nec rex, qui regnando quinquagenarius erat, ubi pro umbra regis habebatur, adeo litteram suam perlustrare non poterat vel peragere, nisi in conductu alterius et dispositione. Paulo post, habito consilio London. super pace regni, in lxo., absolvitur a custodia comitis dominus Edwardus, qui tenebatur obses, nichil cum sui juris fuit, quin potius tractaretur adhuc voluntate comitis et filiorum suorum, quod Edwardus dissimulans procepere(?), eo quod opportunitatem expectabat evadendi. Fol. 112, v°, b.

Anno gratiæ M. cc. lxv., ortis simultatibus conversus inter comitem Leyc. et comitem Glov. Perturbationis causa principalis omnium dicitur extitisse, quod comes Leyc. regem tenuit in custodia, ipsum pro voluntate sua ducens per regnum, omnia castra, civitates, terras, et possessiones captivorum suæ dominationi mancipando, propriis custodibus in quibus magis confidebat introductis. Quod utique dicitur fecisse eo quod presciebat multos nobiles et potentes Fol. 113, r°, a. a proposito suo resilire. Et licet ista faceret, ne dominaretur eis donec statuta Oxoniæ pro voto irrefrangibiliter firmarentur, quia nunquam oportet de aliqua firmatione solicitari, tamen injusti interpretes magnanimitatem ipsius videntes et invidentes, omnia fieri ad destructionem regni et non ad edificationem dicebant, comiti Glov. suggerentes ipsum de jure tamquam excellentiorem hujus facere consistationes, et in ipsius redundare contumeliam et contemptum quicquid in hac parte fiebat. Commotus igitur comes Glov., materiam ultionis inquirens, torneamentum clamare fecit apud Dunestaple, ubi convenirent ipse et H. filius Simonis primogenitus, utriusque partis capitanei. Adveniente siquidem die, congregavit ibidem fortitudinem robustam, tam de marchianis quam cæteris qui contra comitem Leycestriæ conspiraverant, sicut exitus rei probavit. Pacifici regis et consiliarii providentes hujusmodi convocationes seminarium fore discordiæ, et guerram jam consummatam paulatim respirare, regem ad hoc induxerunt ut turneamentum prohiberet, quod et factum est. Sed cum prohibitionem adquiescere recusaret, comminans ad effectum congressus procedere, non obstante aliqua prohibitione, proficiscitur ibidem comes Leyc., associato sibi H. Dispensatore, in manu valida, Londinenses secum adducens, armis omnimodis ad bellum præparatos, qui, parti adversus terrorem incutiens, torneamentum Fol. 113, r°, b. impedivit. Non multum post item clamatur torneamentum parari livore apud Norhamptoniam, et modo quo prius impeditur. Item, comes Gloverniæ de feroce factus ferocior, memoratos marchiones qui debuerant ut dictum est regnum exivisse, sibi adjunxit in adjutorium, Johannem de Warenna, Willelmum de Walence, qui tunc temporis applicuerunt apud Pembrok, et multos potentes, largis donativis et promissionibus convocando exercitum suum diatim, illisque resistentibus in Marchia, comes Leyc. adiit Hereford., cum rege, cui necesse erat de necessitate facere virtutem, utpote qui tunc omnino fuerat suppositus. Elaboratum est per episcopos et alios ad pacem componendam, sed quicquid tunc actum est, truffatorium erat et inane; nam Edwardus, qui ad hoc sperabatur insistere adjutor præcipuus, et ferventior præ cæteris, parte altera consentiente, cum ad spatiandum die Jovis in ebdomada Pentecost. extra Herefordiam divertisset, a militibus comitis Leyc. custodibus suis dextrarii velocitate recessit exinopinato, cautela quadam vulpeculari fretus. Quem ecce Rogerus de Mortuo Mari, non longe ab eis existens in insidiis armatus, sicut prælocutum fuerat, adduxit Wigorn. Omnes igitur marchisi et comes Glov. et fugitivi atque incarceratorum amici venerant in fortitudine grandi, et in brevi formidabilis admodum fieret exercitus, qui cum toto comitatu subdiderunt sibi Cestriam, Salopesburiam, Bruges, et Lodelawe, bellicis insultibus, ac demum, reddita Wigornia, venerunt Glov., quod quidem castrum comes Leyc. multis armatis instauraverunt, v. scilicet vexilliferis, cum sua familia, in quo etiam erat Robertus de Ros et equites certi; et Edwardus et qui cum eo erant urbem expugnatam introierunt; qui in castro erant, resignantes illud die sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, juraverunt quod de cætero arma non portarent contra eos. E contra Simon de M. F. castrum de Monemet. complanavit, exinde procedens versus Guamorgan; et, cum summarii sub arupta montium et silvarum procedentes, ad naves comparentes, ac pro parte magna introducerentur, in Bristolliam [ut] navigarent, ecce exercitus partis adversæ magnus et terribilis ex adverso irruens, insultum nautis ac cæteris in villa existentibus dedit acerrime; ita ut rex et comes relictis rebus suis in puppibus, ponte fracto et villa incensa, in partes Herefordiæ revertere compellentur, et ibidem morantes mittitur regio mandato ad convocandum omnes servitium militare debentes. Interim comes Gloverniæ tempus opportunum

Fol. 113, v°, a.

considerans quo proposito suo satisfaceret, pontes circumquaque frangere præcepit, armatam manum undique constituens, quæ reliquæ parti vires pariter et victualia negaret, eo efficacius maliciam susceptam perficere confidens. Sed comes Leyc. et ejus militia alimentorum laboraret inopia, et administrationem subsidii destrueretur, unde factum est cum festinarent ad succursum regio citati edicto, ab exploratoribus aut capiuntur aut prædantur, aut fugam inire compelluntur. Symon junior cum aliis regni partibus circa obsidionem castri de Peveneshia occupatus, cognita patris anxietate, evocatis copiis militaribus, illuc maturatis gressibus contendit, perveniens in festo sancti Petri ad Vincula ad oppidum de Kenilwrthe, facto infelici quieti ibidem indulsit et sopori. Comes autem Glov. et Edwardus, cognito ipsorum adventu per sagaces exploratores, cum exercitu magno et mirabili sero exientes de Wigornia, summo mane pervenerunt apud Kenilwrthe, ibique multos nobiles in prioratu decubantes barones et vexilliferos circiter x., videlicet comitem Oxon., Willielmum de Monte Caniso, et Ricardum de Grei, cum multis aliis, ceperunt in lectis suis ex inopinato, cum equis electissimis et sarcinis rerum opulentissimis. Simon de M. F. junior, comperto priorum armatorum strepitu, in cimba transvectus per vivarium subter prioratum, vix evasit ad castrum tertio quartove commilitone. In crastino quidem, qui tunc erat dies dominicus, rex et comes Leyc. venientes cum exercitu de Hereford usque Keineshayam, quæ est villa episcopi in comitatu Wigorniæ sita, diem crastinum consumarunt, non obstante quod exercitus illius non procul abesset, qui tunc cum triumpho reversus de Kenilwrthe in civitate prædicta Wigorniæ resedit. Cum igitur bellum hinc inde committendum in crastino putaretur, juxta vocem dominicam, "Si vos persecuti fuerint in una civitate, fugite in aliam," dominus rex et comes Symon iter arripuerunt sub ipso noctis silentio versus Evesham, ubi ad regem repausandum et missas

Fol. 113, v°, b.

audiendum exercitum suum reficiendum substiterunt. Prædictus autem exercitus clarus valde et multo major quam suus, cujus primæ aciei præerat Edwardus, ultiori vero agmini comes Gloverniæ, comperto eorum recessu de Keinesheya, impetu admirabili eos insequitur de Wigorn. usque ad Evesham. Porro comes Glover- Fol. 114, rº, a. niæ et sibi adhærentes, "quorum pedes veloces erant ad effundendum sanguinem," qui spreto juramento suo a comite Leyc. declinaverunt sicut dictum est, eidem tendentes insidias, omnem disciplinam bellicæ congregationis, in conflictu de Lewes superius annotato tanquam hujusmodi penitus ignari, ab eo susceperant qui in experientia militari temporibus illis omnibus anteponendus erat. Unde tanto sagaciores effecti quanto peritiæ ipsius pleniorem habebant notitiam, acies suas ordinando et dissolubiliter statuendo, exercitum suum reddiderunt impenetrabilem, et præcipue propter ipsorum multitudinem, quæ reliquam partem multo majori numero præcellebat. Egrediens autem Symon cum rege et exercitu suo de villa de Evesham, cum montem quandam vicinam ascendisset, ut ordinem cæterorum consideraret, et exinde plenius instrueretur ad congrediendum, taliter suos ut dicitur allocutus est, "Per brachium Sancti Jacobi sapienter accedunt; nec a se ipsis sed a me modum istum didicerunt; nunc commendemus Deo animas nostras, quia corpora nostra sunt (*sic*)." Hortabatur Hugonem Dispensatorem et Radulphum Basset cæterosque fideles ut fugerent, tempora expectantes meliora, ut regno prodessent, sed ipso moriente vivere recusabant. Tunc experiri poterat illa Judica sententia quæ dicit, "Justus ut leo confidit, et in Domino sperans, absque terrore erit;" * nam licet haberet castrum suum de Kenilwrthe fortissimum et omnibus necessariis ad tuitionem munitissimum, in quo se idemnem contulisse, suosque recipisse potuisset incolumes, tamen maluit se campis exibere patentibus, ignomi-

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* Prov. xxviii. 1.

Fol. 114, r°, b. niosum judicans et reprobum ut ullo timore declinasse videretur qui pro justitia mortem subire gloriabatur. Venientibus igitur hostibus, occurrit eis metu mortis intrepidus, et in acies eorum confidenter se ingessit, resistentes circumquaque prosternendo, viriliter præcipitando, ac sub equinis pedibus conculcando, tam velociter ut omnes ipsius probitatem admirabantur. Tandem, equo cui insedebat gladiis et lanceis confosso, flos totius militiæ, cunctis fidelitatis et constantiæ relinquens experimentum, flebiliter occubuit, qui nobiliter pugnavit, et non tam victus quam mole magnitudinis cæterorum oppressus, morti inmisericorditer est addictus. Sed cum non sit aliquis qui fraude malignantium circumveniri non possit, nec invenitur aliqua pestis efficacior ad nocendum quam familiaris inimicus, quis de casu ipsius miratur? Qui cum eo commedebant, levabant contra eum calcaneum suum, et qui dilexerunt eum in ore suo lingua sua ei mentiti sunt, cor non habentes rectum cum eo, nec fideles inventi sunt in necessitate ejus. Nam quidam ipsum deserentes hostium multitudine vallant, in ore strenui militis decertantes, eidem versa facie restiterunt, ad ipsius necem præhibita conspiratione insistentes. Walenses, qui cum eo erant ad multa milia, fugam primitus inierunt, ut bidentes; qui in segitibus et gardinis latitantes, ac per patriam circumquaque confugientes, inventi sunt postea et perempti. Erant omnes ex parte domini Edwardi et comitis Gloverniæ rubeo signo in brachiis ambabus cruce signati, ac alii ex parte comitis Leycestriæ cruce alba ante et retro super humeros dextros insigniti.

Et hæc sunt nomina magnatum qui in hoc miserabili conflictu ceciderunt: Comes Leyc., capitaneus eorum, capite truncatus, pedibus et manibus amputatis, cujus capud uxori Rogeri de Mortuo Fol. 114, v°, a. Mari, in castro Wigorniæ præsentatur (Animam ipsius adjuvet præcursor Domini! cujus capud saltatrici in convivio offerebatur); Henricus filius comitis primogenitus; Petrus de Monte Forti senior, in despectum decollatus est; Hugo Dispensator; Radulphus Basset; Willelmus de Maundevile; Johannes de Bello Campo, qui eodem die primo vexillum erexit; et multi alii, et armigeri, in eodem lamentabili campo reddentes terræ corpora, beatas animas ut credimus in cœlo intulerunt. Capti sunt et vulnerati, Guido de M. F. filius comitis, Johannes filius Johannis, Henricus de Hastinges, Humfridus de Boun junior, Johannes de Vesci, Petrus de M. F. junior, et multi alii in captivitatem abducti, et diversis locis vinculis mancipati, terris suis in alienum dominium vinculo distributionis translatis. Quorum quidam postmodum in carcere vitam finierunt, quidam gravi redemptione liberati sunt. Guido de M. F. apud Doveriam incarceratus, evasit, de quo postea dicetur. Sed et dominus rex in eodem bello graviter vulneratus extitit, et fere morti ex inproviso adductus. Commissum est istud bellum cruentissimum ij. non. Augusti, qui tunc erat dies Martis, et vere dici potuit in quo tot nobiles brevissimo spacii intervallo, scilicet inter primam et tertiam, occubuerunt, eorumque exercitus equestris contritus loco prædicto et convictus. Eadem hora per diversa regni loca tot fiebant tonitrua, tanta subsecuta est obscuritas et opacitas durans fere per dimidium unius horæ spatium, quod omnibus terrorem inestimabilem induceret, ipsa etiam mirabilis aeris inmutatio tam subito superveniens. In aliquibus vero etiam monasteriis religiosorum fratres in choro psallentes, alter alterum paulo a se remotum vix cognoscere poterat, aut in codicibus coram eis scripturam discernere, propter opacitatem. *Explicit bellum de Evesham, commissum videlicet anno Domini M°. cc. lxv.* Fol. 114, v°, b.

Prædicto modo, baronibus apud Heveshan occumbentibus in bello ibidem commisso, sicud dictum est, cum ad universorum notitiam pervenisset illius diei consummatio, dimissa lætitia, la- Fol. 105, v°, a.

mentationi se dederunt universi, præcipue religiosi qui partibus illis favebant, vel favere credebant, et merito, nam sine moræ dispendio mittuntur a latere regis et magnatuum regi assistentium satellites, qui non solum et post*(sic)* terras et possessiones occisorum in bello et captivorum, necessaria etiam bona tam spiritualia quam temporalia religiosorum diripienda violavere, occuparunt, nulli parcentes ordini, dignitati, seu ecclesiasticæ libertati. Vocatis insuper, paucis diebus interpositis, ad parliamentum Winton. comitibus, baronibus, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, et aliis ecclesiarum prelatis edicto regio, sub amissione omnium bonorum, dominus rex et multi magnates, qui quasi reges dicebantur, regale dominium sibi protectum usurpando, eo quod regem tanquam a carcere liberassent, interemptis illis in quorum custodia ducebatur, infinitam pecuniam ab eis inmisericorditer extorserunt, abbates et quascumque domos religionis tantæ subpeditationi mancipando, quod vix aut nunquam poterunt respirare. Ex hoc solummodo sumentes occasionem, quod antedicto comiti Leyc. [pro] utilitate regni, libertate ecclesiastica militanti, sicud prædictum est, sine roboris adminiculo, sine familiaritate secularium, sine etiam(*sic*) orationum beneficia, more pietatis, impenderunt. O nimis amara malignitatis affectio! pro scismaticis et hereticis ac perfidis Judæis ab ecclesia catholica divinæ miserationi devotis præsentatur oratio, et pro militibus Christi Christum deprecantibus dolenda incutitur afflictio! Tantis eisdem diebus inauditis tallagiis et variis extortionibus infestantur viri præcipue religiosi, immo potius excoriantur, quod non valet lingua recitare. Sane igitur comitis jactura irrestaurabilis et sævitia prosequencium, ac generalis ecclesiæ titubatio, pias Christicolarum mentes in fletus tristitiam commovisse, divinam clementiam circa venerandum comitem mirabiliter operare fama referente, omnibus longe lateque nunciatur: Dominus noster Jhesus Christus, qui ex habundantia suæ pietatis abstergit omnem lacrimam ab oculis

Fol. 105, v°, b.

sanctorum, invictissimi viri constantiam insuperabilem, fidei puritatem, et pacientiam et invisibilem(?), infra breve tempus suæ mortis, crebris cepit ostendere miraculis. Quid ergo? suspiria mutantur in laudis præconia, et revixit pristinæ lætitiæ magnitudo. Concepto igitur fidei fervore, ad spem firmiorem eriguntur universi Christi fideles, firmiter sperantes per bonitatem ipsius qui superbos reducit et exaltat humiles, a pressuris malignantium quandoque relevari.

In illo parliamento Wintoniæ convocato, videlicet in festo Nativitatis beatæ Mariæ proximo post bellum de Evesham, quidam abbates et alii prælati indignationem regis perhorrescentes, eundem reddere placabilem facta redemptione decreverunt, credentes deinceps ab oppressionibus raptorum protegi, et optata tranquillitate regiæ protectioni restitui. Sed regis ira mediante, pecunia mutuata resurgunt undique magnates, videlicet dominus Edmundus, G. comes Gloveṙniæ, R. de Mortuo Mari, Johannes Giffard, et multi alii, propriis emolumentis inhiantes, qui nichilominus pari ferocitate eos infestarunt, non obstante aliqua redemptione prius regi facta, nec littera protectionis obtenta causa quietis obtinendæ. A qua flagitiosa inquietatione quidam abbates, sibi sagacius præcavere sperantes, et ex præmanifestis injuriis certificati regis tuitioni ad propria remearunt, sed postmodum per eandem viam inviti subire dissimularunt, et regis injuriis affluenter onerati reverterunt. Fol. 106, r°, a.

Ad festum sanctæ Luciæ Virginis ejusdem anni, convocavit rex exercitum suum apud Norhamton., [ut] Symonem de Monteforti juniorem cæterosque magnates insula de Axyholm latitantes hostiliter impeteret, invitatis tam prece quam prætio comite Sancti Pauli, filio comitis Burgundiæ, aliisque copiis militaribus de partibus transmarinis, quibus terras exhæredatorum contulerat et promiserat, sicut comiti de Sancto Paulo, quem comitatu cinxerat Norfolchiæ, licet saysinam non suscepisset terrarum, nec personaliter partes illas adire præsumeret, sciens comitem Rogerum le Bygot, virum bellicosum, ei desideranter obviasse. In illa expoliatione, quæ more solito acrius exigebatur, eo quod ardentius flamma furoris incendebantur contra regem exhæredati, a proprio solo inmisericorditer ejecti, inestimabilia gravamina sustulerunt viri religiosi servitium militare debentes. Et quia fidelibus protegi deberent tempore hostilitatis, et defendi ab omnibus, conculcati facti sunt præda bellicosis. Sed difficile est singulorum detrimenta referre. Saltem de vexationibus ecclesiæ Sancti Albani aliquid dicatur. Dominus Albanus ad locum prædictum suos transmittit milites, quos ducebant archidiaconus et camerarius ejusdem loci, ut dictos milites domino regi præsentarent ad mittendos, vel si vidissent utilius pecunia redimendos. Cumque ibidem a festo Sanctæ Luciæ usque ad festum Sancti Vincentii proximum sequens cum xx. equis dies (*sic*) continuassent, in multis expensis et angustiis, dominus rex pro quolibet milite lx. marcas exegit a viris religionis servitium militare debentibus, et pro militibus finem facere volentibus. Existentibus ibidem regibus Angliæ et Almanniæ, regina etiam et legato cum exercitu magno et formidabili, procurantibus illis qui pervigili studio circa pacem formandam solicitabantur, mittuntur etiam viri providi qui Simonem cum spe salutis ad deditionem invitarent. Ille vero, licet primo remitteret, novissimo tamen victus amicorum suorum persuasionibus, arbitrio legati, regis Almanniæ avunculi sui, et P. Basset se submittens, eorum dispositioni stare spopondit, salvis vita et privatione membrorum, perpetua quoque incarceratione excepta. Et sic, acceptis obsidibus, præsentiæ regis apud Norhamton se præsentavit. Quo cum pervenisset, procedens rex Almanniæ coram rege Angliæ, Symoni de vitæ suæ salvatione regraciavit, nemini inputandum quod a morte fuisset ereptus, nisi Deo et

Fol. 106, r°, b.

Fol. 106, v°, a.

ipsi soli. Audito quidem comitis occasu in castro de Kenilwrthe, cogitabant qui ibidem erant ipsum in spiritu furoris sui jugulasse, nisi protectio Simonis impedimentum intulisset. Ob quam causam a rege Angliæ in osculo pacis mansuete susceptus, et plenitudinem gratiæ suæ magnifice optinuisset, si sævitia comitis Gloverniæ cæterorumque marchionum permisisset. Sed quia in vitam patris sui confederati effectum maligni desiderii compleverant, pro certo sciebant, quod eos inexorabili odio persequeretur, ideoque ad ipsius cæterorumque exhæredationem et proscriptionem totis viribus insistebant. Factum est autem variis examinatis consiliis et propositis contradictionibus, demum super hoc descenderunt, ut castrum de Kenilwrthe resignaret, regnumque exiret quingentas marcas singulis annis de fisco percepturus, quousque pax in Anglia serenitior reformaretur, conditionesque interpositas sigilli sui munimine, cum præstatione juramenti, roboraret, ne contra formam hujus compaginationis venire præsumerat. Cum ea concordia discordans, et a pietate caritateque pœnitus exclusa, nathale solum abjurare, et tanquam vir sanguinum ignominiose deserere. Castrum siquidem adeunt, ad resignationem castellantes hortantur, mortem intentant et frustra terrores incutiunt. Porro qui in castro erant, super præmissis certificati, omnia suæ saluti contraria fore perpendentes, quia capitaneo suo a regno expulso certum erat eos in priorem devenire conditionem, ad alia se convertant consilia; et licet nunc persuasionibus [nunc] minis pulsarentur, ut præsidium regi resignarent vel domino Simoni, qui in conducto a domino rege ei deputato ad hoc illuc advenerat; tamen, de loci munitione confisi, responsa dederunt, nullam accepisse custodiam a Symone, sed de comitissa paulo ante a regno expulsa, nec ullo viventi de resignatione respondere nisi ipsi soli et in sua præsentia. Fol. 106, v°, b.

Erat autem castrum illud fortissimum quasi inexpugnabile, machinis et tormentis jaculatoris almericis et sindonis necessariis ad modum munitum, et omnibus castris regni dissimiliter instauratum, quæ sufficiebant per multa annorum curricula ad obsidionem expectandam, dummodo de discreta et sufficienti familia sibi providissent. Sed erat numerus virorum excedens M. et cc., et uxores eorum cum ancillis liij., quæ ad confusionem steterunt non ad defensionem. Egredientesque per singulos dies, circumjacentes provincias diripiendo prædas opulentissimas reportarunt, nullius incursiones formidantes. Denique rex sufficere sibi credens ad victoriam, quod Symonem prædicto modo subjugasset, regressus est London., ducens secum illum cujus occasione tantam convocaverat militiam, ut de ipso facerent sicut mente conceperant.

Secundæ aciei præfuit rex, habens secum omnes Francigenas, comitem de Wendosme et Henricum de Seulth. Terciæ aciei præerat Robertus filius comitis Flandriæ. In quarta fuerunt Romani et alii de Campania; post illos veniebant illi de Pyregord, et balistariorum magna multitudo. Prima acies, quam rexit Philippus de Monteforte, obviavit comiti Jordino, qui erat consiliarius et solacium Menfridi, prævalens et præeminens omnibus qui cum illo erant, et captus est . . . . . . cæteris alium bellum faciebat comes Gawanus avunculus illius, qui erat major omnibus et potentior. Illi obviavit rex cum sua acie, et concrevit eos. Menfridus retro autem morabatur quantum ad tractum balistæ, habens ante se omnes pedites et sagittarios, et processit obviam regi. Rex vero properans ad Menfredum, penetravit omnes pedites et pertransivit. Fol. 107, r°, a. Quo viso, Menfredus nimis confusus terga vertitur, quem fugarunt per totam villam de Bonevente et ultra; tanta facta est interfectio in illa fuga, et tot aducuntur captivi, quod non erat numerus. Capti sunt in illo conflictu comes Jordanus et filius ejus, qui strenue egit in illo bello, et præ cæteris omnibus partis adversæ laudabilius dimicavit. Capti sunt tot comites, barones, et mediæ manus milites, quod estimabatur redemptio eorum ad centum libras et amplius. Audita tali victoria, illi de Capua et de Naples et tota terra Calabriæ se subdiderunt regi Karolo. Illi vero de Cicilia fugaverunt de finibus suis illum capitaneum, quem ex parte sua constituit Menfredus. Commissum illud bellum die Veneris ante medium Sextuagesimæ. In crastino inventus est equus Menfredi, quem armiger unus habebat, dicens quod ille qui insederat mortuus est ad mensam, et quem cognatus fuerat germanus illius, et agnitus est ab eis et reptatus est ad exercitum regis, et agnitus a comite Jordano et ab omnibus qui prius eum cognoscebant. Interrogatus armiger si sciret ubi corruit, respondit se scire, et ducti sunt illuc comes de Caserte et frater ejus comitis Jordani . . . . . . [Literam misit] comiti de Flanderes filius ejus Robertus, qui in prædicto bello tertiam aciem regebat, quæ quidem litera statim in Angliam ad regem et legatum transmittitur.

Diebus sub eisdem fama discurrente, cum devulgaretur quod Symon minor de Monte-Forti, qui quasi tenens viam prostrationis et pedem ad propriam hæreditatem sibi de jure spectantem rediturus, modo supradicto evasisset, multi exhæredati, ad castrum de Kenilwrthe fugientes, cum eis qui in munitione erant fœdus inierunt, viribus et augmentatis exierunt, circumquaque singulis diebus partes proximas devastantes, multiplices copias ad instaurationem castri secum reportando, animatiores effecti pro Symonis evasione, quem credebant circa statum illorum esse solicitum, et in procurandis auxiliis de cognatione sua et patris sui in partibus transmarinis vigilanter intentum. Castrum insuper de Tykehille adeuntes occuparunt, custodibus infra repertis aut in ore gladii cæsis aut vinculis mancipatis. Multa etiam prædia et vivaria tam domini regis et domini Edwardi quam

Fol. 107, r°, b.

aliorum sibi adversantium destruxerunt, universam provinciam frumento et aliis victualibus nudaverunt, ut cum rex ad illas partes contenderet hostiliter alimenta deficerent. Sed tantis et amplioribus insolenciis non sufficientibus eisdem ut regem provocarent, ad eos inpetendum quem avide expectabant, ad majoris furoris irritamenta se convertunt, omnibus castris et civitatibus per Angliam regiæ celsitudini subjugatis, cum solummodo ad illum locum de Kenilworthe in medio regni situm certum haberent refugium, tantummodo et non alibi satis admirandam ostendunt audaciam. Nam cursorem regis ad fines illorum infeliciter divertentem comprehendunt, manum amputant, et amputatam domino regi præsentandam ex parte hæreditatorum remittunt. Et sicut annus precedens fluctuante nubilo tempestatis, ita et iste, nulla serenitate arridente, civili turbatione transiit agitatus, cervices de Kenilworthe anno subsequenti relinquens edomandos.

Fol. 107, v°, a. Anno gratiæ M°. cc. lxvj. convocavit rex exercitum suum apud Oxoniam, infra quindenam Paschæ, ad hæreditatos inpetendum et castrum de Kenilwrth obsidendum, ubi juxta regis edictum quidam servitium militare debentes convenerunt, quidam venire recusaverunt, dicentes eos ter vel quater in anno in expeditionem procedere, vel contra statuta regni et leges citari tociens infra annum, vel istis qualescumque alias excusationes similes pro se proponentes. Cum qui præsentes aderant, consilium inientes, sanxerunt nuncios solemnes de castro nunciare, qui tam ex parte legati quam domini regis custodes illius consulerent ad resignationem castri et moverent. Missus igitur W. archiepiscopus Edessanus, Anglicus et tunc temporis in Anglia moram continuans, circumspectus et eloquentia commendabilis, ad locum pervenit destinatum, nec tamen castrum præsumens intrare, licet internunciis et mediatoribus pacis et concordiæ, ... transmissis, eundi ét remeandi tranquilla libertas debeat concedi. Audita severitate castellanorum, ad prioratum canonicorum ejusdem villæ declinavit. Comperto autem ipsius adventu, in castro a custodibus in exenniis liberaliter respicitur, et a ministro exennia eidem deferente qui eum precognoverat taliter præmunitur, ut idem archiepiscopus ore proprio postea confitebatur patri et dominæ reverendæ, "Suspicatur de nobis in castro non modice; caveatis nequaquam in eorum confusionem seu detrimentum promulgatis, quod si forsitan ex officio a legato nobis injuncto faciatis, quod absit! sciatis nos capitalem subire sententiam." Credebant enim quod ad fulminandam in eos excommunicationis sententiam adventaret. Interea castellani de regis adventu super eos hostiliter edicto quanta possunt et diligentia et solicitudine communire satagunt, victui necessaria, armorum genera, greges et armenta de circumjacente provincia trahentes, et quæcumque obsessis possunt præstare subsidium, cursu quorum hospitem sperabant ad obsidionem solvendam remedia procurare. In partibus enim ultramarinis circa copias militares colligendas intendebat, sed secus propositum suum inpedimentum præstitit rex Franciæ, non permittens ipsum ad partes istas cum hostili manu remeare. Tandem disposito exercitu, obsesso castro, locatis in girum legionibus, tentoriis et papillionibus congrua statione dispositis, castrum vallatur obsidione, demum machinis erectis, et petrariis jaculatoriis castrum molestiis non cessant fatigare, sed nec die nec nocte requiei operam dantes, verum crebris lapidum inmissionibus instantia continua muros et domicilia debilitant. Munitio nichilominus per singulos dies egrediens, super eos cum sagittarum ictibus, lancearum, gladiorumque transverberationibus, a multis spiritum exalare fecerunt, greges quoque extra castra ad pascua minantes in conspectu exercitus, sæpius conflictum cæteris inferunt, et redeunt cum victoria. De parte domini Edmundi filii regis ex industria magna paratur turris lignea, sumptuosa valde, mirandæ altitudinis et lati-

Fol. 107, v°, b.

tudinis, [et] ad murum per ingenium aptatur, in qua per loca diversoria collocati fuerant cc. balistarii et amplius, ut inclusis telorum et sagittarum inmissionibus dispendia incuterent. Sed erectus mangonellus interius, non cessabat donec eam assidua lapidum Fol. 108, r°, a. reverberatione penetrando concrevisset. Alia quoque machina ex parte domini regis nimis admiranda, quæ propter magnitudinem ursus vocabatur, varias infra se divisiones continens ad sagittarios interducendos, ad nocumentum obsessorum erigitur, contra quam quædam petraria aptatura satis artificiosa viriliter reverberavit, quod multo tempore vim ministrandi et sæviendi amisit. Hoc enim apud eos voluntarium, ut singulis machinis propter illarum vehementiam et terribilem aspectum propria nomina imponerent. Bargis etiam de partibus Cestriæ sumptuosis laboribus transvectis, ad assiliendum castrum per aquam, sed nichil proficientibus. Qui de foris erant nichil relinquunt intemptatum eorum qui castellanis possunt augere molestias, et ad optinendum castrum tribuere facultatem, nichil tamen attemptantes per fossores et subterraneas vias ad suffodiendum muros, quod quidam ingenium in hujusmodi negotiis non modicam optinendi votum consuevit præstare fiduciam, et inclusos de victoria reddere desperatos. A mane usque ad vesperam apertæ sunt januæ. Et cum durasset obsidio a festo Pentecostæ usque ad festum sancti Martini proxime sequentem, nunquam factus est assultus communis ab exercitu regis, sed fere singulis diebus egressis castellanis et audacter se offerentibus, occurrunt agmina militum, equitum et peditum, impetuose capita pariter et corpora relinquentes ibidem. Miles quidam strenuus generosi sanguinis in conflictu graviter vulneratus, captus, ad castrum adductus, in fata concessit, positusque honorifice in feretro, cereis circumquaque appositis, ducitur extra castrum, ut venientes amici sui de parte regis ipsum pacifice asportarent, Fol. 108, r°, b. juxta votum suum intumulandum. In hoc facto commendatur urbanitas castellanorum. Instant de foris, cum xi. petrariis lapides in castrum die noctuque incessanter jactantibus. Legatus videns quod nichil proficiunt, nititur ut ipsis et aliis exhæredatis terræ suæ restituantur, marchionibus contradicentibus et minas tumide minis accumulando quod in ipsum legatum insurgerent. Sed in eos excommunicationis sententiam fulminans, sicuti facere credebatur, eo quod tanquam pacis perturbatores terras cæterorum detinebant occupatas. Eliguntur per dominum regem et optimates suos xij. viri excelsæ dignitatis, prudentia circumspecti et experientia comprobati, ad tractandum de pace regni et statu exhæredatorum; quorum ordinationi prædictæ pacis negotium est commissum. Legato quoque et domino Henrico filio regis Almanniæ, per eos xij. sic data est potestas ut si quid ex ordinatione prædictorum xij. virorum remaneret, quod perfectione et mutatione indigeret, suo possent judicio conformare. Citantur igitur abbates, priores altiores, propositum habentes, tam exempti quam non exempti, per totum regnum, ut vj. kalendis Novembris apud Norhamptoniam convenirent, sub pœna excommunicationis, quam ipso facto incurrerent si mandatum legati adimplere neglexerunt. Citantur et archidiaconi universi, per quos citationes fieri deberent, prædictos ut sub pœna prædicta prædicto loco personaliter accederent, nomina abbatum et prioratuum sui archidiaconatus sub sigillo suo legato fideliter intimanda; et a Norhamtonia colloquium amoventes usque Coventream juxta Kenilworthe, ad festum Omnium Sanctorum convenerunt omnes religiosi totius regni, una cum barnagio et cæteris regni magnatibus, ut interessent, ubi dicti ordinatores ordinationem suam promulgare deberentur. Quod et factum est. Castellani formam pacis non acceptantes, castrum reddere recusarunt, et ad resistendum se paraverunt. Legatus in insigniis cum omnibus aliis prelatis similiter redeuntibus, excommunicationis sententiam fulminavit in eos. Ipsi

Fol. 108, v°, a.

vero, erectis circumquaque per muros castri vexillis et penecellis innumeris, omnes reddiderunt, admirantes quod tam mirabiliter rebellare præsumebant. Vocantur et carpentarii per totum regnum ad machinas faciendas et edificia construenda, quia credebant ibidem hicinare (?) circa obsidionem.

Rege taliter cum toto posse suo circa castri expugnationem existente, exhæredati scientes alteras partes regni militari copia destitutas, currunt undique, vastantes omnia, deprædantes universa quæ poterant sibi subjugare; accedentes ad insulam de Ely, in vigilia sancti Laurentii eam occupant, exeuntes singulis diebus circumjacentem provinciam devastantes, omnia vitæ necessaria secum in insulam reducentes et restaurantes. Proficiscitur episcopus loci cum paucis ad regem, eventum rei nunciaturus. Indignanter est receptus, et ei casus inputatur. Citantur comitatus cum plebe ad eos vallandos; exeunt hæredati nichil fortitudinis concipientes, et plebem introire compellerunt. Villam de Norwic. fortiter assiliendo deprædabant, spolia secum reportantes ad habundantiam; similiter Cantebrigiam, Judæos et alios quos volebant ducentes in insulam et ad votum redimentes. Cives de Len. accedentes ad regem, libertates suas amissas petentes sibi reconcedi, promittebant insulanos vivos vel mortuos sibi præsentari, dummodo negotia sua per regem promoventur. Quibus concessis, et obtenta securitate de eisdem, congregaverunt infinitam multitudinem de plebeis, cum navibus quamplurimis balistariis onustis et sagittariis, omnique armorum genere refectis, ad eos impetendum. Johannes de Ensle cæterique instructi de ipsorum adventu, statuentes aliqua agmina locis congruis, demissis vexillis, fugam fingunt, ut cæteros adhuc in navibus animarent ad terram. Festinantes deinde redisse super eos applicatos et omni parte concludentes jugulant, revertere volentes ad naves gladiis obviant, iiij. bargis cum multis navibus retentis, cædem fecerunt non modicam. Sicque in illo conflictu multis occisis et carceri mancipatis,

Fol. 108, v°, b.

[et] in aquis submersis, paucis ad Len. reversis pro voto triumphi itur.

Legatus et comes Gloverniæ et cæteri, qui duodenario numero fuerant electi ad pacem componendam, nituntur ut exhæredati et etiam castellani, facta redemptione pro transgressionibus suis, terras suas in possessiones recuperarent. Rogerus de Mortuo Mari et cæteri marchiones, nimis igitur timentes quod terras amittere deberent sibi collatas, et immo violenter occupatas, in necem comitis Glov., ut dicitur, conspiraverunt seditiose sibi inferendam. Unde recedens idem comes et alii multi, ad terras suas protegendas ab eruptionibus insulanorum, regem cum paucis in obsidionem dimiserunt. Castellani nimia laborantes alimentorum inopia equos comederunt, de nova refectione febricitantes, morbosi facti sunt, finierunt atque propter hoc de pace tractare curarunt (?). Facta est ergo composito, anulo regio signata, ut ad Symonem in partibus transmarinis mitterent, et si eos non succurreret infra tempus xij. dierum sicud in compositione continebatur, ex tunc die præfixo castrum resignarent. Datis igitur obsidibus, destinantur ad Symonem nuntii, formam prædictam eidem intimantes, et sine spe alicujus auxilii contra festum sancti Martini reddiderunt. Fol. 109, r°, a.

Ad Nathale proximum sequens erat dominus rex apud Oxoniam, et legatus multique magnates specialiter vocati ad pacem faciendam inter comitem Glov. et Rogerum de Mortuo Mari cæterosque marchionum ab obsidione de Kenilwrth cum rancore decedentes; et exinde versus London. iter arripiens, ubi festum sancti Edwardi sicut ei moris erat pariter et devotionis, vocatis archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, et aliis ecclesiarum prelatis, comitibus, baronibus, prout decebat regiam excellentiam, cum ingenti gaudio solempnizavit. Legato in sedili regio collocato, singulisque ferculis coram eo primitus appositis, et postremo coram rege, unde murmurabant multi in aula regis indignantes quod alienigenam in suo regno et in festivitatibus suis ei præfecisset. Ad illud festum invitatus comes Gloverniæ, venire recusavit, suspicans aliquod sinistrum ab emulis suis in curia procurari. Nuncios suos domino regi destinavit, ut dicitur, monens et exhortans, ut a consilio suo alienigenas amoveret, ut provisiones Oxon. bonas et utiles regno inviolabiliter teneret et per regnum tenere faceret, et promissa sibi apud Evesham adimpleret. Sin autem, ei si quod utile videretur faceret, ne miraretur. Habito igitur diligenti tractatu, tam circa hujusmodi mandatum quam circa hæredatos qui insulam de Ely occupatam detinebant, omnes provincias licencia liberiori devastando, edicto regio citantur comites, barones, archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, et omnes communiter militare servitium debentes, ut ad festum Purificationis beatæ Virginis proxime sequentem apud Sanctum Edmundum cum equis et armis modo omnique sufficienter instructi convenirent, ad insulanos impetendum. Omnibus quo in adventum regis die et loco convenientibus, comes Gloverniæ se absentavit, in confinio Walliæ copiosum congregans exercitum, ad marchiones suos inimicos ut creditur persequendum. Missis denuo legationibus, videlicet J. de Warennia et W. de Walence, ut veniret ad parliamentum, renuit, litteras patentes faciens signo suo signatas, quod nuncquam arma portaret contra dominum regem nec filium suum Edwardum, nisi se defendendo, sed inimicos suos, scilicet R. de Mortuo Mari et cæteros pro posse suo suppeditaret. Hoc fecit per consilium, quod notam proditionis sibi formidabat impositam.

Fol. 109, r°, b.

Anno gratiæ M. cc. lxvij., vocatis edicto regio totius regni magnatibus cum equis et armis ad obsidendum insulam Elyens. ut dictum est, episcopis [et] abbatibus militare servitium debentibus, apud Sanctum Edmundum convenientibus ad parliamentum, cum aliis ecclesiarum rectoribus per legatum citatis, primo et principaliter rex et legatus articulos subscriptos exigebant a clero, scilicet ut omnes prælati et rectores ecclesiarum decimas suas concederent de tribus annis sequentibus et de anno proximo præterito, quantum dabant baronibus ad custodiendum mare contra alienigenas. Ad hoc respondebatur quod guerra incepta fuerat per iniquam cupiditatem, et adhuc durat, et ideo necessarium esset hujusmodi petitiones pessimas prætermittere, et de pace regni tractare, et parliamentum suum ad utilitatem ecclesiæ et regni convertere, Fol. 109, vº, a. non ad tortionem denariorum, præcipue cum terra tanto destructa sit per guerram quod vix aut nunquam respirare poterit. Item petitum est ut ecclesiæ taxatæ fuissent per manum laicorum justa et alta taxatione, ad valorem omnium bonorum. Ad hoc respondebatur, quod non est ratio, sed contra justitiam omnimodam, ut laici de decimis colligendis se intromittant, nec in hoc nuncquam consentiebant communiter, sed tantum ut antiqua taxatio staret. Item ut episcopi, abbates, priores, decimam suam darent de baroniis suis plenarie et de laico feodo, recta et alta taxatione. Ad hoc respondendum est, quod deprædati sunt et secuti sunt regem in expeditione, et cum tanta pecuniarum effusione quod omnino pauperes effecti sunt, sed et terræ eorum incultæ jacebant propter guerram. Item ut clerus communiter daret domino regi, ad relevandum statum suum, xxx. millia marcarum, sine antedictis decimis, quas quidem decimas legatus vendicabat ad opus Romanæ curiæ, propter debita Ceciliæ, Puliæ, et Calabriæ, in nomine domini Edmundi filio regis. Ad hoc responderunt, quod nichil darent, quia omnes hujusmodi taxationes et extorsiones per regem factæ tempore priori nuncquam in utilitatem regis vel regni conversæ sunt. Item, ut omnes clerici tenentes baroniam vel laicum feodum personaliter procederent armis præmuniti omnimodis contra inimicos suos, vel tantum servitium in expeditione regis invenirent quantum pertineret ad tantam terram vel tantum tenementum. Ad hoc responderunt, quod non tenentur pugnare cum gladio materiali, sed spirituali, scilicet cum lacrimis, oratione, et hujusmodi beneficiis, et tenentur pacem manutenere, et non ad guerram movendam auxilium præstare, vel etiam jam motam confovere; et quod terræ et baroniæ ipsorum ab elemosinis stabiliuntur, unde servitium militare non debent nisi certum, sed nec novum incipient. Item, ut clerus communiter acquietaret ix. mil. marcarum, quas episcopus Roffensis Laurencius et episcopus Bathoniensis Willelmus, et abbas Westmon. Ricardus, mutuo receperunt a mercatoribus domini Papæ in curia Romana, quando fuerunt ibidem pro negotiis regis expediendis. Ad hoc responderunt, quod nunquam consentiebant illis ix. m., nec quicquam sciebant, unde in nullo tenentur eas acquietare. Item, ut fieret prædicatio cum omni festinatione de cruce per totum regnum ad expugnandum populum quem curia provideret, vel ad crucem per denarios redimendum. Ad hoc responderunt, quod populus terræ per guerram in magna parte occiditur, et si modo cruce signarentur qui remanserunt, quod manifestum esset quod legatus voluisset naturalem progeniem terræ exulare, ut sic possent alienigenæ terram libere conquirere: item, exhæredati terras suas non sunt recuperati, nec cæteri redemptiones suas. Item, ut episcopi tenerentur ad omnes istas petitiones, velint, nolint, bono grato vel malo grato, propter juramentum de Coventre quod domino auxiliarentur regi modis omnibus in quantum possent. Ad hoc responderunt, quod quando juramentum fecerunt nunquam intelligebant de alio quam auxilio spirituali et consilio salubri.

Fol. 109, v°, b.

Exhæredati latitantes in insula de Ely ammoniti sunt per nuncios legati, ut reverterent ad fidem sanctæ ecclesiæ et ad obedientiam curiæ Romanæ et ad pacem regis, secundum formam provisam, et ut susciperent absolutionem de sententia secundum formam sanctæ ecclesiæ, et ne ampliores roborias et depredationes facerent, et ut de roboriis et depredationibus factis restitutionem facerent clero et ecclesiæ. Ad primum responderunt, quod firmiter tenent eandem fidem quam didicerunt a sanctis episcopis, scilicet sancto Roberto, de sancto Edmundo, sancto Ricardo, et aliis viris catholicis. Fol. 110, r°, a. Unde credunt et tenent eosdem articulos fidei de cimbolo et oratione dominica, euvangelia, et sacramentis, sicud universalis ecclesia tenet et credit, et propter hanc fidem parati sunt vivere et mori. Ad secundum dicunt, quod obedientiam debent ecclesiæ Romanæ sicut capiti totius Christianitatis, sed non omnibus cupiditatibus et exigenciis voluntariis illorum qui gubernare deberent eandem et regem. Prædecessores sui, quorum hæredes sunt, terram conquirebant per gladium, et ideo visum est eis quod injuste exhæredati sunt, et hoc est per legatum, unde hortantur eundem ut faciat emendari. Ad tertium respondent, dicentes quod legatus missus est in Angliam ut pacem faceret, et magis guerram manutenet, quia manifeste parti regis adhæret et eam fovet, et in quantum sic facit partem guerræ sustinet. Item, forma provisa nulla est, præcipue cum papa dederit regi et legato in mandatis, ut nullus exhæredaretur, et quandam redemptionem providerunt quæ coequatur exhæredationi, unde hortantur legatum ut faciat emendare. Ad quartum dicunt, quod prima inprisio et primum juramentum sint ad utilitatem regni et totius ecclesiæ, et omnes prelati regni excommunicationis sententiam fulminarunt in omnes contrarietates, unde ad hoc stant in eadem voluntate, et parati sunt mori pro juramento eodem, et hortantur legatum ut revocet sententiam, alioquin appellant ad sedem apostolicam et etiam ad generale consilium, vel si necesse fuerit ad summum judicem. Ad quintum dicunt, quod cum militant pro utilitate regni et ecclesiæ, oportet vivere de communibus bonis et maxime de bonis inimicorum suorum, qui terras eorum detinent; ideo hortantur legatum ut terras suas sibi restitui faciat, ut necessitatem non habeant de-

Fol. 110, r°, b. prædare. Ad sextum dicunt, quod multi discurrentes circumquaque roborias faciunt multimodas, qui sunt de parte regis et Edwardi, et dicunt se esse ex parte hæredatorum, ut ipsos defament et se ipsos excusent; et ideo monent legatum ne talia referentibus fidem adhibeat, quin si quemquam in hujusmodi scelere comprehenderent, inter se ipsos statim sine mora de ipso facient judicium. Exhæredati significant domino legato, quod irreverenter ejecit a regno tanquam totius terræ consilium episcopum Winton., episcopum London., episcopum Lincoln., et episcopum Cicestriæ, viros in consilio et prudentia circumspectos, unde consilium regni in maxima parte debilitatur et terra periclitatur, quia legatus bona episcopatuum sibi usurpat, et per defectum consilii cæterorum status terræ deperit; et monent legato ut emendare faciat. Significant legato, ut moneat regem quod alienigenas de consilio suo amoveat per quos terra captivatur. Monent legatum, ut terræ suæ restituantur eisdem sine redemptione, et ut provisiones Oxon. teneantur, et ut obsides eis liberentur in insulam, ut possint eam pacifice tenere per quinquennium, donec viderint qualiter rex omnia præmissa firmaverit et fecerit observari. Significant legato quod abbatiæ et aliæ domus religionis edificatæ sunt de bonis predecessorum suorum, et nunc per extorsiones et tallagia regis et legati destruuntur, unde viri in locis eisdem ad servitium Dei deputati vivere nequeunt, nec elemosinas in hospitalitatem facere sicuti consueverunt; monent legatum ut emendetur. Significant legato, quod ecclesiæ regni collatæ sunt alienigenis, qui sunt inimici terræ; et bona ecclesiastica, quibus naturales terræ vivere deberent et sustentari, in partes ultramarinas asportantur, et ideo periclitantur animæ, non habentes custodem præter aliquem capellanum de minori precio, quo possunt; et monent ut emendetur. Fol. 110, v°, a. Significant legato, quod decimæ quæ exiguntur a clero non debent dari vel concedi, eo quod terra destructa est per regales et per communem guerram, et terra jacet inculta, et fructus annui nulli provenerunt, unde populus fame moritur. Significant legato et monent, ut nulla fiat prædicatio ad populum naturalem regni cruce signandum et exulandum, quo liberius gens extranea posset terram expugnare.

Proponit rex etiam contra hæredatos, dicens quod juste exhæredati sunt et privati terris suis et tenementis, quia in plena curia sua et judicio parium suorum, scilicet magnatum terræ. Respondent barones, dicentes quod illud judicium eis nocere non debet, quia in judicio illo non concordabat curia, quia majores et discretiores, scilicet, rex Almanniæ et P. Basset et dominus Marescallus et terræ cæteri quam plures, a curia recesserunt, contradicentes et reclamantes. Dicit rex quod contradictio et reclamatio non debet eis prodesse, quia lex firmissima est in omni regno Christianorum, et ut dicitur Saracenorum, quod quicumque insurrexerunt cum manu armata contra dominum suum agmine, ipso facto et jure amittere tenentur tenementum suum, quod tenet ab eodem. Respondent barones, dicentes quod, quamvis apud Lewes homagium suum ei reddiderunt, et a fidelitate sua recesserunt, tamen postea apud Londoniam homagium ei denuo fecerunt, et fidelitatem ei juraverunt, quam usque ad præsens inviolabiliter custodierunt, nec arma contra eum postea portaverunt.

Explicit narratio de duobus bellis apud Lewes et Evesham, inter Regem Angliæ et Barones suos infra biennium commissis. In quorum primo, scilicet apud Lewes, Barones mirabiliter triumpharunt, et, in secundo apud Evesham, lacrimabiliter occubuerunt. Fol. 114, v°, b.

MIRACULA

SIMONIS DE MONTFORT.

(MS. Cotton. Vespas. A. vi.)

Ακεφ . . . . . . Interempti fuerunt illo die ex parte Comitis, ipse Comes; Henricus filius ejus; Hugo Dispensator; Willelmus de Arundeuil; Radulphus Basset de Draycote; Petrus de Monteforti; Hugo de Hopvile; Johannes de Bellocampo de Bedford; Thomas de Hesteleie; Willelmus Devereus; Guydo Bayselle; Ricardus Trusselle; Willelmus de Burmugham; Robertus de Sepinges; Guydo de Mounteforti; Johannes de Vesci; Unfredus de Boun a fuga reversus apud Wygorn. Et captivati sunt, Johannes filius Johannis Roche de Segreve; Henricus de Hastinges; Comes Herfordiæ. Ex parte domini Edwardi cecidit Hugo de Troia miles, et Adam de Ridmark, et pauci alii. In villa, in cœnobii curia, in monasterio, et capellis earumque atriis, populi, more pecudum, obtrunctati jacuerunt. Et quod visu fuit horribile et auditu tam mirabile quam miserabile, chorus et alia quæcumque monasterii loca fuerunt interemptorum et vulneratorum sanguine purpurata. Tunc autem venerunt inimici temeritatis filii, rapacitatisque eorum ministri, quicquid substanciæ concupiscibilis inveniri potuit, in villa et cœnobio prædæ patuit et direptioni.

Nichil opertum quod non reveletur, &c. Quidam Ricardus, nomine Bagard, de Evesham, cum transiret cum mercatu suo versus Stretford super Avenam, apparuit ei manus exercitus veniens de

Keneleworth. Iste metu reversus est in via, habuitque obviam dominum Willelmum de Bello-Campo, cum tota sequela sua; et inter eos fuit dominus Petrus de Saultmareis. Dictus Ricardus ait, "Cavete! ecce inimici vestri super vos." Ait dominus W. de Bello-Campo, "Revertentur sarcinæ;" et fecerunt moram in loco ubi sancti martires occubuerunt. Tunc ait dominus Petrus, "Fere omnes dicunt dominum Simonem comitem Leycestriæ esse sanctum; ideo deprecemur Jhesum Christum, ejusque sanctam Dei genitricem, geniculando forte deridendo, si sanctus est, demonstret virtutem suam, et det nobis in loco isto aquam vivam!" Et arripuit os scapulæ caballi et cæpit fodere. Mira Dei virtus! de terra, arida et petrosa, aquæ dulcissimæ in vertice montis persiliunt, et hoc anno revoluto, in Edwardi secundo anno, &c. T. G.

Henre Chaunteler laicus guttam habens in renibus, ita quod vix per tres dies incedere non potuit, nisi cum sustamento baculi; hic autem obvians casu cuidam homini de Mucletone deferenti aquam in quodam vase, de fonte qui dicebatur Comitis Simonis, petiit ut eidem daret de aqua prædicta ad quantitatem quam tenere posset in manu. Qui eidem concessit et dedit, et, cum locum guttatum linisset, convaluit. Hujus rei testes sunt Johannes de Bretfortone capellanus, Ricardus Cappell' filius ejus, et plures alii.

Radulfus de Boklonde, de Teneth ultra Cantuar., habens guttam per tres annos et septem septimanas, nimis pungitivam in sinistra gamba, ut jacuit continuo in lecto in dextera parte, mensuratus ad Comitem, et gamba lota de aqua fonte martiris, multis videntibus prædictum fontem, convaluit. Unde hoc testatur tota insula de Teneth.

Domina comitissa Gloverniæ habuit palefridum asmaticum gall' porsif' per duos annos. In redeundo ab Evesham versus Theukesbury, cabello hausto de fonte Comitis, et caput et facies lota, in presencia dictæ comitisse, convaluit. Et, denario plicato, in testimonio sanitatis et miraculi, iterum misit armigerum suum Evesham. Hujus rei testes prædicta comitissa, cum tota familia sua.

Alicia de Novereis Burton juxta Leycestriam, percussa paralisi in sinistra parte per xxx. annos; postea percussa in dextera per vj. annos. Ista pernoctavit ad fontem Comitis, nocte sanctæ Eadburgæ Virginis, et ibi sanitatem in omnibus membris, tam in dextera quam in leva, gloriose recuperavit, annogratiæ M°. cc°. lix°. De hoc teste tota villata de Novereis Burton.

Item, Radulfus clericus de Sepham Burland, claudus per ix. septimanas, ad fontem Comitis convaluit.

Mulier de Elmeley ægrota misit puellam ad fontem Comitis propter aquam. In redeundo a fonte ministrales castelli obviam habuit. Interrogaverunt puellam, quid haberet in picherio; ait illa, novam serviciam (*sic*) Evesham. Cui dixerunt, "Non, habes aquam de fonte Comitis," et hauserunt, et invenerunt sicut puella dixerat. Et sic dimissa. Et cum veniret ad infirmam, iterum versa vice est mutata in aquam, infirma hac gustata convaluit.

Henricus de Stodeley, filius Isabellæ de Stodeley Lamberd, albuginem habens in oculis ambobis a nativitate sua, exceptis quatuor septimanis, quibus clare videbat. Ab illis quatuor septimanis penitus visu oculorum privatus fuit per xij. annos et amplius. Hic ad comitem Simonem de Monteforti mensuratus visum in oculo sinistro recepit, in tantum quod vidimus ipsum de coloribus vere indicantem. De hoc testimonium perhibente Alicia mater Henrici, et plures alii.

Willelmus de Sniteneford, filius Henrici de Mitton, habens quatuor digitos in sinistra manu per xij. annos contractos, apud Eveshe veniens, meritis martiris nostri digitos prædictos recepit extensos; ita quod eos ad libitum suum movere potuit et extendere.

Hujus rei testes sunt Domina Margeria de Cantulupo, et Domina Johanna de Cantulupo, et tota villata.

Rogerus Horsman de Bucland habens pedem dextrum contractum per annum et amplius, ad comitem Simonem mensuratus, die Sancti Mathæi, circa vesperas, et quod perdiderat per infirmitatem per merita Sancti recuperavit; ita quod vidimus eum incedentem ad libitum suum. Unde tota villata de Boclande perhibet testimonium.

Olivia de Leiminstre per tres annos amisit potestatem eundi, mensurata ad martirem, et per (*sic*) noctes apud Evesham pervigilans, convaluit. Unde tota parochia perhibet testimonium.

Memorandum de manu sancti Simonis, quæ cum adhuc esset ad quoddam castellum ad suscipiendam, portitor manus iter habuit per quandam ecclesiam, et audivit pulsare ad missam, et intravit, et adoravit. Et cum stetisset sacerdos ad elevandum corpus Christi, statim in bifro juvenis movebatur, et manus erecta, ut solebat viva, Jhesum adoravit.

Mulier quædam Oogredeford,* habens brachium contractum, ita quod brachium extendere non potuit per multa annorum curricula, et cum pernoctasset circa tumulum martiris, sanitatem recepit; ita quod brachium extendere ad libitum suum potuit. De convalencia hujus mulieris perhibet testimonium armiger domini Roberti de Colleworthe, et, parliamento veniens, colloquium habuit cum dicta muliere, affirmante ipsam sanam effectam per merita martyris.

Johannes de Broun, miles de Traduncton, paraliticus in una medietate totius corporis per annum, ad Comitem mensuratus, candelam suam de mensura composuit, et apud Evesham veniret dictus infirmus, de infirmitate qua tenebatur convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium rector ecclesiæ de Caducton,† Evesham personaliter accedens.

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* *Sic: qu.* de Gredeford?

† *Sic, pro* Traduncton (Tredington).

Quidam juvenis circa sexdecim annos, per patrem et matreme mensur ad sanctum Robertum Lincolniensem episcopum, et ibidem veniens cum patre et matre, die sabbati proxima ante congressum belli die Martis apud Evesham peracti, cæpit dormire; et in dormitione illa perseveravit per totam noctem, et usque ad horam primam diei lunæ proxime sequentis. Qui tunc evigilans cæpit loqui, qui mutus et contractus fuerat toto tempore vitæ suæ, dicendo patri et matri, "Cur hic moram facitis?" Qui responderunt, "Propter salutem vestram optinendam a sancto Roberto Episcopo." Qui dixit eis, "Dictus sanctus Episcopus non est hic, processit enim apud Evesham in adjutorium comitis Simonis fratris sui, qui morietur apud Evesham die Martis proximo sequente." Et ita prædictus juvenis, prius mutus et contractus, convaluit. Qui de hiis perhibens testimonium adhuc vivit perseveramus (*sic*) in ecclesia Lincolniensi.

Mabilia de Belbeworth per annum et amplius tantam sensit infirmitatem et debilitatem in gambis et tibiis, quod ire non potuit nec usquam movere. Hæc apud Evesham in biba (*sic*) adducta, et ad Comitem mensurata, convaluit; et hanc vidimus procedentem et ambulantem ad libitum suum. Hinc perhibent testimonium vicini ipsius, qui infirmitatem ipsius viderunt.

Felicia de Fladbury ita gambis et tibiis contracta, per duos annos et dimidium, quod nec sedere nec incedere poterat. Hæc mensurata ad Comitem, convaluit. Hujus testes sunt vicini ejus.

Robertus, filius Hugonis Boteler, de Mortone sub Malvernia, sentiens molestiam lapidis per viij. annos, mensuratus convaluit.

Auticipiter magistri Thomæ de Cantulupo per duos dies ejecit omnia alimenta quæ receperat, quod est signum mortis hujusmodi avis, mensuratus ad Comitem, convaluit.

Senescallus prædicti magistri Thomæ, nomine Nicholao, per magnum tempus de quadam gutta laboravit; venire (*sic*) ad Comitem, convaluit.

Willelmus de Sarle, monachus Wynchecumbe, patiebatur tussim cum morbo idropico. Iste adductus Oxoniæ et ibi multa in medicis inane expendebat, mensuratus ad Comitem, astitit ei quadam nocte quidam senex in visione, dicens, "Oportet te scarificari," at ille "Scarificationem ullo modo sustinere non possum;" senex apprehendens m^{i} ataxam(?), et percussit eum sub plantis pedum. At ille evigilans cum clamore magno, invenerat lectum suum undique liquore fœtidissimo plenum, et brachia, et pedes, et etiam totum corpus, gracile et delicatum; et sic per merita martiris nobilissime curatus est. De hoc testificatus est Abbas Wynchecumbe, cum sacro conventu.

Rogerus, capellanus et vicarius de Hide in Cancia, habuit infirmitatem ignotam, unde physici desperati, item per alium annum quartanam, mensuratus ad Comitem, sine mora convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Hide.

Robertus de Malton, canonicus, cecidit super brachium sinistrum, unde amisit utilitatem brachii, die Veneris ante festum Sancti Johannis Baptistæ. Mensuratus ad Comitem, et in eundo versus Evesham apud Stretforde super Avenam causa orationis intravit quandam ecclesiam, habuit in memoriam sanctitatem martiris, convaluit. De hoc perhibent prior de Malton et totus conventus.

Thomas filius Jordani de Botolestone, in vigilia sancti Mathæi, anno gratiæ M^{o}. cc^{o}. lviij^{o}., privatus subito visu, et loquela, mensuratus ad Comitem, convaluit.

Item, Agnes de eodem loco, quasi de sanitate desperata, convaluit.

Item, filius Jacobi de Fancote, submersus in quodam fonte per dimidiam diem, mensuratus convaluit.

Alicia de Herforde per quinque annos sine sustentacione duorum baculorum procedere non potuit, mensurata ad Comitem, convaluit.

Die sancti Egwini, nobis videntibus, gloriose curata est. Testes hujus rei tota civitas Herford'.

Christiana Hiberniæ, primo anno belli, habens guttam per quinque annos; ista sompniavit ut iret ad tumbam sancti Wlsini, et acciperet de pulvere, et secum asportaret, et ita fecit, et convaluit. Et antequam ad propria veniret, pulvis ille mutatus est [in] salem. Hujus testes Roger vir ejus et Ricardus filius ejus, et plures alii.

Dominus Andreas, rector de Keuelston de Norhamptonscire, habuit calculum per quinque annos; mensuratus ad Comitem, convaluit. Testes hujus rei tota parochia de Kenelstone.

Ricardus Seypo, miles Hiberniæ, habuit mulierem pregnantem et febricitantem, et, propter mæsticiam et dolorem, perdidit loquelam: physici desperaverunt et dixerunt, "Aut peribit puer aut mater." Post paululum versa est ad vomitum, et peperit masculum elegantem, sed abortivum. Dictus Ricardus plicuit denarium ad martirem nostrum, super matrem et puerum, et revixit puer, et sanata est mater; et dederunt nomen, Simon de Montfort. Item, dictus Ricardus, habens cardiacam passionem per annum, simili modo convaluit. Testes hujus rei, dictus Ricardus, cum tota familia sua.

Heliseus filius Willelmi de Middilton in Cancia, habens tracem in sinistro oculo et sinistra maxilla, per xxiiij^{or}. septimanas, mensuratus ad Comitem, convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium villata de Middelton.

Elizabet de Brome, habens quinque vermes angeli per annum et amplius, in sinistra aure; ad Comitem mensurata, et denario plicato super eam, continuo exierunt, et convaluit. Testes hujus tota parochia de Budforde.

Agnes de Selgrave in Norhampton habuit convenam pullorum, inter quos unus casu cecidit in puteum aquæ, et submersus est, Dicta Agnes extraxit pullum a puteo, et dedit pueris ad ludendum. Tandem dixit, "Commendo te Deo et beato Simoni!" et continuo surrexit. In signum miraculi, detulit prædictum pullum apud Evesham. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota parochia de Selgrave.

Perrus Leycestre recitavit de filio fratris sui, qui jacuit in fonte aquæ submersus per iiij^or^. dies, scilicet a die Veneris sancti Mathæi Apostoli, usque ad diem sequentis (*sic*). Puer ab aqua extractus, et ad Comitem mensuratus, statim apparuit (*sic*) oculos, et respiravit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Glendone in Norhamptonshire, anno gratiæ M^o^. cc^o^. lix^o^.

Maria de Chepingnorton amisit potestatem ambulandi per duos annos; mensurata ad Comitem, convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Chepingnorton.

Henricus, capellanus de Geddewolde, habuit cardiacam passionem per septimanam, unde credidit expirare; mensuratus ad Comitem, convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota parochia de Geddewolde.

Symon Secher de la Ry, morbo frenetico fatigatus per quinque septimanas; iste apud Evesham adveniens, et coram nobis in choro vinculis ferreis astrictus, per merita Comitis miraculose est curatus.

Radulfus de G. fic' atewode in Theneth, simili morbo fatigatus per quinque septimanas; mensuratus ad Comitem, et, denario plicato, convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota insula de Thenet-londe.

Filius Radulfi Barate de Besseborne, puer, cecidit in cloacam, et per medium diem jacuit extinctus. Mensuratus ad Comitem, et, denario conplicato, statim surrexit et convaluit. De hoc testimonium perhibet tota villata de Besseborne.

Margaria de Laburd de Weruntone, habens spasmum, et dissemteriam, et fantasma in capite, per quinque septimanas; unde præ dolore amisit memoriam; mensurata ad Comitem, et, denario plicato, convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Weruntone.

Alyne de Famelesburye, habens quandam infirmitatem ignotam per quinque septimanas; mensurata ad Comitem, convaluit. Unde prædicta villa perhibet testimonium.

Wyon de Werintone sensit guttam in gambam dexteram per duos annos. Iste sompniavit quod fuit in quodam loco ubi Comes erat, et videbatur ei quod Comes sufflavit super eum, et tota infirmitas evanuit.

Gilbertus de Weryntone habens guttam nimis pungitivam per quatuor annos, mensuratus ad Comitem, convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Weringtone.

James de Weryngtone habuit guttam, quæ dicitur *fetre*, per ix. septimanas; mensuratus ad Comitem, et, denario plicato, convaluit. Isti sex de villa prænominata super Merle, hoc super illam aquam.

Alicia de Weredech, habens quandam infirmitatem usque ad mortem longo tempore, unde physici desperati, mensuratus (*sic*) ad Comitem, et denario plicato, convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium vir ejus, Johannes de Laware frater Prædicatorum, et tota villata de Derleston in Stretforde-schire.

Robertus de Verelle filius Gilel habens guttam per xv. dies usque ad mortem; mensuratus, convaluit. Testes ut supra de Serynton.

Willelmus Clericus de Wistan habuit, ut physici dicunt, festum et caverum et ix. aperturas in tibiis, per biennium. Mensuratus ad Comitem, et denario plicato, convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Wistan.

Domina Christiana Germaule de Essex, habens puerum ætate quinque annorum; puer iste habuit infirmitatem durissimam usque ad mortem per duas septimanas. Mensuratus ad Comitem, convaluit. In signum sanitatis fecit deferri puerulum de cera. De [hoc] perhibet testimonium tota villata de Seringes.

Dominus Willelmus de Troy, Gallicus, habuit guttam frigidam longo tempore in gambis et tibiis, ultra modum pungitivam. Mensuratus ad comitem Simonem convaluit. In signum sanitatis deferri fecit gambam cum pede de cera apud Evesham, per Johannem de Reans armigerum suum. Unde idem Johannes perhibet testimonium, cum tota familia sua.

Domina Juliana Grimbaud in partu præ magno dolore credidit periclitari, et scindi puerum ex ventre ejus. Mensurata ad Comitem, infra brevem convaluit, et peperit masculum elegantem. Unde dicta Juliana est testis, cum pedissequa et familia sua.

Ricardus Cant', filius Gilberti Berizard, habens per tres annos gambam sinistram contractam, ita quod sine sustentatione duorum baculorum incedere non potuit; hic, cum per duos annos loca diversa Sanctorum visitans causa salutis suæ recuperandæ et nullum infirmitatis sentiret levamen vel adjutorium, quadam nocte videbatur ei, cum esset apud Cantuariam, in sompnis, quod adiret locum ubi Symon de Monteforti occubuit et requiescit. Quo documento comperto, surrexit cito, et abjectis baculis de adjutorio divino confidens, baculos suos aliquando coadjutores super scapulas secum apud Evesham detulit; et de convalencia sua nos certos redidit.

Philippus de Bretfortone laicus infirmitate, quæ *tylys* vocatur, in tantum artabatur infirmitate prædicta, quod, propter angustiam ejusdem passionis, credebatur ab omnibus qui aderant viam universæ carnis ingressurum. Qui ad Comitem mensuratus, convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium Johannes capellanus de Bretforton, et Alicia h'ere Bebond, et Alicia serviens illius, et uxor ipsius Philippi.

Agnes uxor Willielmi Alexandri de Bretforton, acuta febre laborans et prægnans; ad comitem Simonem mensurata, convaluit. Hujus rei testes Johannes Bretfortone capellanus, et Willielmus vir ejus, et Willielmus Saxilanus.

Henricus Chanteler de Bretfortone, laicus, guttam habens in renibus, quod vix per tres dies incedere non potuit, nisi cum sustentatione baculi; [mensuratus ad Comitem, convaluit.] De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Bretfortone.

Frater Johannes, dictus le Taylur, de ordine Prædicatorum, et de conventu fratrum de Norhamton, habuit per mensem sinistram gambam usque ad poplites contractam; qui, spem et fiduciam ponens in comitem Simonem, convaluit. Hujus rei testis fuit frater Willelmus de Bannebury, prædicator.

Matildis de villa quæ appellatur Raddestone, in comitatu Norhamton. quadam gutta per multa tempora fatigata, quæ nulla arte medicorum potuit curari, licet magnas expensas fecisset pro sanitate recuperanda; mensurata ad comitem Simonem, statim convaluit post mensurationem.

Agnes, de eodem loco, usque ad mortem infirmata, quæ omnibus sacramentis ecclesiasticis inuncta, postquam corpus ejus tanquam mortuum in area collocatum, propinqui ejus ad memoriam reduxerunt comitem Simonem, et ipsam mulierem ad ipsum mensuraverunt. Statim infirma convaluit, per merita Comitis, prout asserebat.

Filius Jacobi de Fancote, submersus in quodam fonte, mortuus extractus, et per medium diem mortis vinculis detentus, tandem de consilio quorumdam, qui ad mortuum convenerant, ad comitem Simonem mensuratus, a mortuis surrexit, et se per merita Comitis resuscitatum confessus est.

Willielmus Gullafre de Havekebore, habens filium nomine Henricus xj. annos a nativitate sua habens; hic Henricus infirmabatur per xv. dies, demum, infirmitate gravante, mortuus est. Pater et mater, de consilio vicinorum, mensuraverunt ad comitem Simonem, qui statim post mensurationem revixit. Et surgens asseruit se resuscitatum meritis comitis Simonis.

Alexander de Ros, filius Willelmi de Ros, subito infirmatus et mortuus jacens, et, totaliter decolaratus, estimaretur ut mortuus per diem. Iste ad Comitem mensuratus, post quandam respirationem parvam emissam, convaluit, et de resuscitatione sua meritis Comitis facta narravit hiis qui præsentes aderant. Nomina autem eorum qui præsentes aderant sunt hæc, silicet et qui resuscitacionem viderant: Alexander Nitterel, et Robertus, sucarius ejusdem. Facta autem sunt præscripta in castello de Helmelling', ubi est capella Petri et Pauli, ad quam infirmus deportatus est, et jacuit mortuus; et postea suscitatus a mortuis. Per omnia benedictus Deus! qui, per merita Comitis, talia operatur.

Memorandum de merilione Johannis de Culno, qui jacuit mortuus per diem et noctem; et tandem posito in sporta, et mensuratus ad martirem, convaluit.

Magister Johannes Crowoltone per xv. dies erat gravi infirmitate capitis et faucis sinistræ usque ad dentes. Qui orationem fudit ad Dominum ut ipsum liberaret ab infirmitate quam paciebatur per merita comitis Simonis, post orationem factam, liberatus fuit. Ecce mirum et admirandum! Quicquid infirmitatis recepit in sinistra, qua curatus fuerat, recepit in dextera fauce. Qui per merita dicti comitis Simonis recurrens, convaluit virtute divina.

Willielmus Haymunde de Bratkeg, clericus, inflammationem habens per totum corpus per unam septimanam; qui judicatus fuit a diversis medicinæ peritis fuisse ydropicum, ad Comitem mensuratus, convaluit. Et hoc miro modo, quia tota inflatura quam habuit per aperturas quasdam gambarum decurrebat, quouscunque sanitati restituebat.

De quodam miraculo mirabili quod nobis recitavit Henricus de Pomery miles.—Dicebat se enim fuisse in capella comitis Simonis, ubi proposuit audire vesperas suas; sed recordatus propter diversa negosia coram ipso, recitata hora debita venire non potuit. Tandem autem sero veniens, vidit xij. cereos quos Comes præparari jusserat divinitus illuminatos. Quos dum ipse respexerat, prohibuit Comes dicto militi, et aliis qui interfuerant, id dictum miraculum alicui revelarent.

Avicia filia Alani de Derebi certissime mortua, mensurata ad comitem Simonem, convaluit resuscitate (*sic*).

Radulfus Pur', filius Gilberti et Aliciæ de Dereby, tam a sacerdote suo parochiali, qui clausit oculos ejusdem, quam ab aliis vicinis, mortuus judicatur. Ad comitem Simonem mensuratus, statim convaluit resuscitatus.

Radulfus de Dereby, parmentarius, a puericia sua in gamba dextra infirmitate gravatus, per quam habuit gambam unam grossiorem alia, et sentiens continue corosionem in osse ipsius gambæ, sed non circa cor, gravatus infirmitate, vidit in sompnis comitem Symonem sibi assistere, et dicentem sic, "Mortalibus infirmitatibus gravatus es; sed surge summo mane, et adeatis locum apud Evesham in quo vivus fui et mortuus, et sanitatem plenam recuperabis." Quod dum fecit, convaluit de omnibus infirmitatibus suis.

Ricardus de Herforde carpentarius, dum esset in reparatione stagni cujusdam molendini, quædam strues lignorum cecidit super pedes ejus, et eos ita contrivit quod se movere non potuit; unde per alios fecit se deportari in domum quandam: unde, eodem in lecto quodam collocato, de consilio quorumdam apponi fecit emplastrum super pedes ejus; et cum ultra modum gravaretur post appositionem emplastri, et dolorem sentiret quem ferre non posset, de eorum consilio pedes suos fecit mensurari ad comitem

Simonem. Et, hoc facto, dolor apparuit levigatus, unde, emplaustro deposito, apparuerunt pedes sui omnino sanitati restituti, per quod surrexit, et opera sua fecit, sicut prius consuevit. Idem etiam Ricardus detulit quod Agnes, uxor Reginaldi Mamworde, dum esset prægnans, et de vita desperata propter dolorem continuum quem paciebatur, ad comitem Simonem mensurata, statim partum edidit, et de periculo quod timebat evasit; et hoc meritis prædicti Comitis.

Matildis uxor Willelmi filii Hugonis, guttas (*sic*) laborabat in ombus membris, et hoc per multa tempora. Hæc autem ad comitem Simonem mensurata, convaluit. Et in hujus rei testimonium, locum in quo dictus Comes vivus fuit et mortuus humiliter requisivit et visitavit.

Memorandum, quod cum comes Symon de Monteforti in somnis appareret vicario de Wardone, et eidem præcipit ut Galfridum de Stalares militem ex parte sua moneret, quod seditiones et machinamenta quæ contra comitem Symonem et suos complices apud Luddelow fecerat, emendaret, et idem vicarius, bis præmunitus, præceptis Comitis non obtemperaret. Dictus Comes apparens ei tercio cum comminatione, præcepit eidem, ut diceret prædicto militi, quod nisi cum festinatione prætaxata machinamenta faceret emendari, subito vel inopinata morte ab hac vita transiret. Verum cum miles auditis monitis non adquiesceret, in provictu itineris versus Londoniam, in quadam domo ubi fuerat hospitatus, incendio periit cum domo et hernesio et tota familia sua. Ita quod nec minimum signum de omnibus prædictis appareret post prædictam combustionem.

Alicia soror Willelmi rectoris ecclesiæ de Werinton, subito in dextra parte capitis et per faucem dextram usque ad collum inflaturam sustinens, per quam dubitabatur eam morte subitanea extingui, hæc autem de consilio quorumdam eidem assistencium ad comitem Symonem mensurata, convaluit. Hujus rei testimonium perhibuit dictus Willelmus, qui candelam mensuratam apud Evesham detulit.

Memorandum quod dictus Willelmus quoddam mirabile nobis retulit, dicens quod cum ipse, post bellum apud Evesham commissum, de terra ubi Comes jacuit in campo secum asportasset, et in panno quodam sub custodia collocasset, et quidam laicus nomine (*sic*) infirmabatur usque ad mortem, ita quod ecclesiastica sacramenta recepisset, et sine loquela per biduum jacuisset; comes Symon eidem in somno apparens, ut sibi videbatur, dixit ei, quod præcaret dictum Willelmum ut aliquam particulam eidem donaret de terra memorata quam habuit in sua potestate; et quod misceret in aqua, et ea uteretur vos declutiret (*sic*). Quod dum factum fuisset, dictus infirmus sanitatem recupavit.

Quidam monachus de Burgo Sancti Petri quoddam mirabile narravit, quod unus de conventu fratrum consuevit detrahere comiti Symone una cum quodam clerico fratre suo, nec bonum audire vel dicere potuit. Contigit quadam nocte quod contentio erat inter fratres pro dicto Comite; "quidam eorum dixerunt quod bonus fuit; alii non, sed seducebat turbas."* Tandem, lite sopita, petierunt strata. Media nocte apparuit dicto religioso quidam miles armatus, habens gladium in dextra manu et porcinunculam suillam in leva, et ait, "Comede: aut gustabis aut interibis; melius est comedere carnes crudas quas (*sic*) vivas;" et comedit, ut videbatur, usque ad medietatem. Et dixit miles, "Sufficit: sed vade, et defer aliam dimidietatem fratri tuo," et nominavit illum, et sic disparuit. Iste evigilans perteritus, ut ablueret manus de contentione et visione surrexit, invenit os suum intus et extra sanguine maculatum. Hæc videntes fratres mirabantur, et crediderunt eum ab aliquo percusse. Dictus religiosus, recognoscens veritatem, et petens veniam a martire, penitencia ductus, omnis macula faciei evanuit. De hoc perhibet testimonium totus conventus loci illius.

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* Evangelium sec. Johannem, vii. 12.

Thomas de Crest narravit de rectore de Pytyltone, paralisi percusso, die qua cantavit suam novam missam, et in reda apud Evesham deportatus, statim et sine mora convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota parochia, et dictus Thomas, qui vidit dictum rectorem postea celebrantem et Deum clara voce laudantem.

Gelbreda Belle de Phyleby casu confregit brachium dextrum, quæ, tanto gravata dolore, non habuit requiem, neque per diem neque per noctem. Tandem mensurata ad comitem Symonem, et denario plicato super eam, omnis ille dolor evanuit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Phileby, ille Johannes qui vidit dictum brachium contractum, et hoc narravit.

Cuttyng de Northumbarland de abbacia Penmoster, percussus quodam ferro quod Gallico dicitur *gayne*, inclusum habuit in pectore per duos dies et duas noctes. Hic mensuratus in festo sancti Bartholomei ad comitem Symonem, sine mora convaluit. Unde vidimus propriis oculis cicatrices vulneris; et illum ferrum remanet penes nos. Testes hujus rei abbas de Penmoster, et conventus loci illius.

Eadmunde Kokerelle, rector ecclesiæ de Perne juxta Sanctum Benedictum de Holm, gravi infirmitate detentus, unde physici sui desperaverunt. Iste habuit in memoria comitem Symonem, et mensuratus convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium dictus infirmus, et Johannes de Phileby, qui detulit candelam suam apud Evesham.

Willelmus cognomento Child, constabularius de Kynggis, habens puerum fere mortuum, dictus Willelmus tantem dolorem concepit in mente, quod nullum gaudium vel lætitiam potuit habere. Casu superveniente venit quidam prædicator, socius ab antiquo, vidit nimiam anxietatem et dolorem, voluit ab illo declinare; ultimo dictus prædicator quæsivit, si contrarius fuit aliquando comiti

Symoni. At ille, "Sic, quia privavit me multis bonis." Cui ille, "Pete veniam a martire, et recuperabis filium tuum." Interim infans expiravit. Et ecce dolor super dolorem! et jacuit se super lectum, et parum obdormuit. Et vidit in sompnis Christum descendere de cœlis, et tetigit eum, dicens, "Quicquid petieritis in honore Comitis mei, dabitur tibi;" et surgens cum festinatione, mensuravit puerum, et denario plicato super eum, statim aperuit oculos. Et sic, per merita Comitis, sanus et in columis redditur patri suo. De hoc perhibet testimonium constabularius de Flopesbury, Clemens Londoniarum, una cum patre prædicti mortui.

David de Cordebrege de Berkeshire, ydropicus per vij. septimanas, in tantum inflatus quod vix incedere vel videre potuit. Hic mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, sine mora convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Cordebregge.

Willelmus, frater illius David, surdus per tres annos, simili modo mensuratus, gloriose convaluit.

Domina Mabilia, sanctimonialis de Stodeley juxta Oxoniam, gravata ex magna infirmitate circa cor per ix. annos, quam medici caudiacam passionem vocant. Hæc mensurata, et super eam denario plicato ad Comitem, statim convaluit, anno gratiæ M°. cc°. viij°., (*sic*) circa assumptionem beatæ Virginis. De hoc perhibet testimonium Conventus de Stodeley.

Galfridus de Say, miles, de Essex, gravi infirmitate in tibiis et gambis per viij. septimanas detentus ita quod vix incedere potuit, mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, sine mora convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium Johannes de Hyke, qui candelam suam apud Evesham detulit.

Prior sancte Crucis de Waltham, gravi infirmitate detentus, sicut ipse narravit priori nostro, usque ad mortem; fratres circumstantes fleverunt, et dixerunt, "Bonum est ut sis mensuratus ad comitem Symonem;" at ille negavit, dicens, "Absit aliquo religioso facere votum, sine præcepto prælati." Nocte media videbàtur ei in sompnis quod vidit comitem Symonem inter multitudinem pauperum sibi occurrentem, et dulciter amplectentem. Evigilans habuit quandam eructationem, et fecit vomitum, et sic convaluit.

Frater laycus de eodem cœnobio paralisi in dextra parte percussus, mensuratus, simili modo convaluit. Cocus ejusdem loci frenęticus, per merita martiris, gloriose sanatus est. Testes (*sic*) dictus prior ejusdem loci.

Johannes de Coventre, cognomento Forbeor, gravi infirmitate detentus, et ex toto mortuus. Mulier sua videns virum mortuum, more mulieris exclamavit, "O Symon de Mountefort! si aliquod bonum fecisti pro Deo, et sicut nos credimus te martirizatum pro justitia, ostende virtutem tuam in homine isto!" et statim respiravit; et denario plicato et deaurato, miraculose resuscitatus convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium villata de Coventre.

Quidam nobilis Pherme, habens mulierem prægnantem et morbo ydropisi laborantem, unde amici illius desperaverunt. Adveniente tempore parturitionis, peperit masculum elegantem, sed abortivum. Interim voluit dominus ejus recedere a loco, donec videret finem. Quidam ex consodalibus, quasi ludendo, dixit, "Bonum est ut domina nostra sit mensurata ad comitem Symonem;" &c. ab obstetricibus facta, sine mora convaluit. Hæc audiens, dictus dominus voluit videre uxorem. Et cum respexit, vidit morbam undique sedatam. Quæsivit de puero. Negavit se non habere puerum, nec unquam infirmitatem. Tandem perscrutatur. Invenit, ut superius dictum est, silicet, abortivum. Denario super eum plicato, confestim aperuit oculos, et dedit vagitus. Per omnia Deus benedictus, unde tria sunt miracula hæc perpetrata; mulier a morbo ydropico sanata; a puero liberata; a morte gloriose resuscitata! De hoc perhibet testimonium magister Johannes de Sychio, hoc audiente a minoribus, et cæteris personis valde fidedignis.

Hugo Peverelle de Denechire, habens filiam lactantem nomine

Johannam, hæc per duos dies et duas noctes jacuit sine anelitu. Mensurata ad comitem Symonem, et denario plicato, surrexit, et lac de nutrice avide sivit. De hoc perhibet testimonium dictus Hugo, una cum uxore nobilissima, et tota familia.

Domina Margareta de Heydon, juxta Castrum Novum, uxor Nicholai de Strugham, ægrota gravi infirmitate, quam mulieres *flores* vocant, per annum. Hæc sua expendit et medicis, et nichil prævaluit. Tandem mensurata ad Comitem, statim convaluit. Testes hujus rei tota villata de Heydon, et Hawysa, quæ detulit candelam suam usque Evesham.

Quidam nobilis de Derebeschire fecit magnum convivium convicaneis suis. Affuerunt inter eos duo detractores, qui et dixerunt universa mala de Comite. At dominus convivii quod bonus fuit. At ille, "Domine Jhesu Christe! sicut credo comitem Symonem pro justitia terræ et veritate martirizatum, ostende magnificenciam tuam in me!" Et involvit manum in birro. Interim rediit mensam. O mira Dei virtus! post prandium aparuit manum nichil aparuit (*sic*) nisi cicatrix circa policem. Hæc videntes detractores, statim fiebant Dei laudatores.

Thomas clericus Cantuariensis, filius Roberti Yve, habens morbum caducum per xl. dies, mensuratus ad Comitem, convaluit; nec infirmitas ultra ad eum rediit. De hoc perhibet testimonium Johannes vicarius de Sellinge in Cancea, et plures alii.

Alicia de Chileam in Cancea, mulier fidedigna, narravit de quodam puero quadrennio, filio Wolkokam Cant', nomine Alexander, qui in conflictu serviencium casu cecidit in ignem, et jacuit ibidem fere per dimidiam horam, et quatuor rybaldi super eum; et sic fuit in oculis et cæteris membris fere adustus. Hic mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, statim gloriose curatus est sine omni læsura. Testes hujus rei universa multitudo Canc'.

Frater Gaprinus Bosson, de ordine Minnorum, vidit sompnia post mortem Comitis, sicut recitavit, præsente fratre suo ejusdem ordinis, Odone Kanseotico; videbatur ei esse in magno campo et lato, et vidit duas scalas sive acies, ut milites dicunt, unam magnam et aliam minorem. In minori, Jhesum sedentem et dicentem, "Si est aliquis qui aliam victoriam in hoc sæculo fecerit propter nomen meum, surgat in medio!" Et ecce sanctus Comes detulit capud suum in manubus, et optulit ei. At Jhesus, "Magna est oblacio." Dictus frater evigilans, revolvebat intra se quid potest esse sompnia an revelatio; et iterum obdormivit, et astitit ei quidam ei manifesta revelatio cui demonstrata est modo cuidam monacho Evesham; unde prior, bonæ memoriæ, sæpe narravit, quod tunc temporis aperte vidit.

Rogerus Fullo, molendinarius de Wychio, habens filiam lactantem et reptantem. Ista, sine custodia, casu cecidit in aquam, rapidoque meatu fluminis absorta, et volventis rotæ hauritoriis excepta, statim extinguitur hæc ab aqua elevata. Et ad comitem Symonem mensurata, aperuit oculos, et sic, per merita martiris, vita restituta. O mira Christi clemencia! Et quæ nunquam gressus stando ad terram misit, recte super pedes postea ambulavit. Istud contigit primo anno. Sed motu regalium parentes noluerunt nec potuerunt probare. Testis hujus rei tota villata de Wichio.

Willelmus de Maule, nobilis puer de Essex, habens infirmitatem ab infancia, quasi demencia et privatus sensu hominis; mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, convaluit. Unde, in signum sanitatis, detulit capud ceræ apud Evesham, et candelam suæ longitudinis et latitudinis. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota parentela sua nobilissima.

Reginaldus de Besseforde habuit brachium contractum per duos annos, mensuratus ad Comitem, die exaltationis sanctæ Crucis, convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Besseforde.

Ricardus de Berewyk, habens puerum masculum duorum annorum, die Lunæ post sanctam Pascham, casu cecidit in puteum aquæ et jacuit ibi mora trium horarum. Mensuratus ad Comitem, statim surrexit. De hoc perhibet testimonium omnes convicanei loci illius de Berewyk in parochia de Neuwentone.

Reginaldus Angebixa, habens quandam infirmitatem unde physici desperaverunt, mensuratus ad Comitem, simili modo convaluit. Testes tota villata de Holecombe.

Ricardus Neirun, nobilis cognatus domini Walteri de Cantulupo, habens quandam infirmitatem circa cor, quod vix respirare potuit; mensuratus ad Comitem, et denario plicato, convaluit. Et, ut dixit, apparuit ei bis in sompnis dictus Symon.

Ricardus Pepr' de Scelegrave ultra Bannebury v. leucas, habens puerum nomine Robertum, cum, quadam die, scilicet *le hokeday*, numerasset animalia fratris sui ad pasturam, in quodam loco non debito obdormivit. Evigilans non habuit memoriam hominis, et sic remansit sine sensu per duos dies. Mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, statim sensum recuperavit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota parochia de Selegrave.

Leticia Palmers de Oxonia, habens brachium inutile et manum invalidam per annum et dimidium, mensurata ad Comitem, convaluit. Et in signum sanitatis, detulit [brachium?] ceræ apud Evesham. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota parochia sanctæ Albæ virginis Oxoniæ.

Gregorius de Grandun, rector ecclesiæ de Sapecote, habens totam faciem inflatam una cum collo ultra modum, mensuratus ad Comitem, die Martis post Theophaniam, convaluit.

Idem narravit, cum esset in castello de Kenelingworth post bellum, accidit ei guttam pungitivam (*sic*); recolens de loco ubi Comes sedere solebat, accessit, et ibi adoravit, et guttam statim evanuit.

Item idem de bove suo dixit, qui non comedit per xv. dies; denario plicato ad Comitem, statim avide comedit, et convaluit.

Item narravit de quadam ave dominæ de Grandone, mortua, dilacerata, et medietate comesta, mensurata et per merita Comitis gloriose, sine læsura, resuscitata est.

Rogerus de Estwelle de Norhamtoneshire conduxit puellam nomine Johannam apud Evesham privatam visu per ix. septimanas; mensurata ad Comitem confestim visum recepit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Evesham.

Uxor Johannis de Hicclebury, nomine Rosa, habens quandam infirmitatem, die sancti Pauli in itinere versus villam tanto fuit gravata, quod inter brachia viri sui expiravit. Mensurata ad Comitem, et super eam denario plicato, statim respiravit et convaluit. Et mirum contigit de denario plicato perdito et quæsito, et tertia nocte in lecto suo mirabiliter invento. De hoc perhibet testimonium capellanus parochialis, una cum tota villata de Domuntone.

Abbas Hugo de la Dale, ordinis Præmonstratensis, percussus paralisi die Saboti post festum sancti Marci Evangelistæ, coram justiciariis domini Regis tunc sedentibus in villa de Dereby, et sic detentus infirmitate per quatuor dies; concilio prudencium mensuratus ad Comitem, convaluit sine mora, in præsencia tocius congregationis. In signum sanitatis, dictus abbas misit candelam suam apud Evesham per Johannem canonicum suum de Babapekewelle, anno gratiæ M°. cc°. sexagesimo xx.

Robertus Aleyn de Bruelle ultra Oxoniam, habens uxorem nomine Matildam, hæc paciebatur febribus et valla dura capitis et colli per tres annos; mensurata ad Comitem, convaluit.

Item, quidam narravit de filio suo nomine Radulpho, laborante febribus per vij. annos, tantum noctibus, simili modo mensuratus ad Comitem, convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Bruelle.

Leticia de Heylestone juxta Leycestriam, ydropica per vij. annos, mensurata ad Comitem, in eundo versus Evesham, cum sternitatione et ructuatione et vomitu convaluit. Et quæ tumida et aquosa fuit, vidimus propriis oculis gracilem et delicatam. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Heylestone, cum ceteris villulis adjacentibus.

Agnes de Deneburne, habens guttam et spasmum in toto corpore, mensurata et confricata de terra ubi Comes occubuit, mox convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium Alicia Malherbe, et ceteræ mulieres.

Alicia de Chaddelee, habens in capite infirmitatem unde fere amisit oculum dextrum per xvij. septimanas, mensurata ad comitem Symonem, convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Chaddelee.

Quædam domina fide digna narravit de pullo suo pavonis, quod casu pede conculcato, unde per ambas partes capitis sanguis exivit, mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, sine mora et læsione, convaluit. In signum miraculi et sanitatis, detulit bona mulier apud Evesham caudam prædicti pavonis.

Willelmus de la Horste de Bulne narravit de quodam vicino suo, Roberto diacono. Secundo anno post bellum Evesham, contigit quod dictus Willelmus fecit magnum convivium. Inter convivantes lis mota est de Comite. Unde dictus Robertus ultra mensuram vituperavit Comitem, et universa mala proposuit; at dominus domus, silicet dictus Willelmus, "Nolite detrahere Comitem." Inter hæc dictus Robertus perdidit loquelam, nec potuit movere manum vel pedem, sed sedit quasi mortuus, tamen orationibus convivantium parum respiravit. Et, concilio dicti Willelmi, promisit quod de cætero nunquam adversa de dicto Comite diceret, et sic de periculo evasit.

Idem Willelmus recitavit de clerico nomine Willelmo de Hylamtre, habens sanguinis passionem, mensuratus et denario plicato convaluit. Testes hujus rei dictus Willelmus et plures alii.

Johannes Benedist de Tortynton de Suthsex, habens filium mutum et claudum longo tempore, mensuratus ad Comitem, media nocte clamavit ad matrem, "Perduc me ad ecclesiam de Evesham." Illa turbata ait, "Potes loqui." At ille, "Sic, quia astitit mihi senex dicens, quia habes nomen meum sanaberis." De hoc perhibet testimonium domina Hawysa de Pevile, et domina Johanna de Lamare, nobiles mulieres.

Sthephanus de Holle, et Nicolaus de Hulle, Johannes Godde, Walter Sygard, cives Herefordiæ, narraverunt quoddam mirabile de Philippo, cappellano de Brenteles, qui vituperavit Comitem. Inter verba conviciosa ait, "Si Symon comes est sanctus, ut dicitur, volo ut diabolus frangat collum meum, vel aliquid miraculum antequam domum veniam." Et, sicut petiit, ita contingit. Nam in redeundo versus domum casu obviam habens leporem, et in saltum post eum de caballo cecidit. Serviens illius pro conviciis areptis a dæmonio, more Walencium, clamavit, "*Ob! Ob!*" Insanuit iste apprehensus et ligatus, et sic permansit in vinculis, a festo sancti Johannis Baptistæ usque ad translationem sancti Benedicti. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota civitas Herefordiæ.

Dominus Heliseus, decanus de Weryntone, privatus visu per tres annos, mensuratus ad Comitem, convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium omnes conversantes inter Bibbel (*lege* Ribble) et Merse, hoc est inter illas duas aquas.

Memorandum de cæco apud Norhampton, qui unum oculum recuperavit. De hoc perhibet testimonium clericus domini Episcopi Lincolniæ.

Willelmus de Braddewelle, habens quandam infirmitatem ignotam per annum, mensuratus ad Comitem, continuo convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Braddewelle.

Reginaldus Rigon Oxoniæ recuperavit visum per merita Comitis in oculo sinistro, die Mercurii proximo ante festum Decollationis sancti Johannis Baptistæ, anno gratiæ Millesimo cc°. lxv^{to}. De hoc perhibet testimonium prior Sanctæ Frethewithæ Oxon., Willelmus de Crofta, Robert de Stratforde.

Puer quidam de Gloucestria per septem annos pedibus et manibus contractus, ad Comitem mensuratus, convaluit, anno gratiæ prædicto, circa Assumptionem beatæ Mariæ Virginis. De hoc perhibet testimonium Robertus de Aldewik, tunc temporis prior sancti Petri Gloucestriæ.

Quædam sanctimonialis de Acornubure, diligebat multum comitem Symonem; quæ nimio dolore constricta pro eo quod audierat dictum Comitem adeo enormiter detruncatum, unde blasphemare Deum et sanctos suos multipliciter cæpit, asserendo ipsum esse injustum eo quod proderet justos et innocentes, malos autem et prævaricatores salvaret; unde propter dolores et angustias quas patiebatur innumeras, non potuit recipere consolationem; sed amens effecta, postea aliquantulum sedata, et sui compos effecta, sequebatur conventum, set utrum aliquid de Deo diceret, vel non, ignorabatur. Tandem exclamavit, dicens se habere capud Comitis in gremio suo, quod sibi arridebat et applaudebat. At illa monialis astantibus ostendit oculos et nasum et nares et os ejus, quod et osculebatur circumquaque, et in hoc recepit sensum quem amiserat.

Checheley de Romesey gravedinem capitis per dimidium annum et amplius sustinuit, quæ veniens ad tumulum comitis Symonis mensuravit se, et statim convaluit.

Memorandum de quodam puero de Gloucestria mortuo, qui postquam classica quæ pulsantur pro mortuis, in parochia Sancti Audoeni, fuissent deportata et pulsata notale pro dicto puero mortuo, dictum fuit matri ejusdem, ut mensuraret puerum ad comitem Symonem, quod cum mater fecisset, surrexit a mortuis;

qui adhuc vivit. De hoc perhibent testimonium pater et mater pueri, et plures alii qui interfuerunt et prædicta viderunt.

Willelmus de Uffenham, capellanus, filius Willelmi[et] Margeriæ, dum esset in loco quodam, et transitum faciens super equum suum, casu cecidit de equo, et læsionem unius pedis habuit, ita quod pedem movere non potuit per duas septimanas. Unde, cum audisset a quibusdam vicinis de miraculis quæ Deus operatus est apud Evesham per merita comitis Symonis, plicavit unum denarium Deo solvendum pro sanitate recuperanda. Statim sanitatem recepit in pede, et nihil sensit de aliqua molestia quam prius habuit. Hujus rei testis est qui scripta retulit juratus.

Quidam frater minor de conventu Herefordensi, febrium molestia gravatus per mensem et amplius, ad dictum Comitem mensuratus, statim convaluit. De hoc perhibent testimonium fratres minores qui interfuerunt, et prædicta viderunt jurati.

Robertus de Carlingestoke guttam habuit per dimidium annum et amplius, qui mensuratus ad sanctum Robertum, et ad alios Sanctos, non sensiens convalescenciam, postquam audivit comitem Symonem in bello mortuum, censuit ipsum martirem; unde supplicavit Deo, ut, per merita dicti martiris, eidem subveniret; et statim liberatus fuit a dicta gutta. Idem de ipso testimonium perhibet.

Quidam apud Hawekesbury, mutus et contractus per septem annos, mensuratus ad Comitem, statim convaluit in omnibus quæ paciebatur. De hoc testimonium perhibet abbas de Persore, et plures alii.

Osbertus Giffard, febribus diu fatigatus, sompniavit quod comes Symon apparuit sibi, dicens ei quod aciperet legambilem "quod habuistis de me in bello, et ponatis super vos, et sanabitis." Evigilans, dixit ministris suis ut investigarent de armaturis quæ jacebant ad pedes lecti sui; qui investigantes invenerunt legambilem, posueruntque super eum, et sic sanus factus est. De hoc perhibet testimonium abbas de Evesham, qui præscripta audivit de ore ejus qui curatus fuit.

Ricardus de parochia de Inteberg, filius Johannis Fili, et contractus a nativitate, qui gambas et pedes habuit per quinquennium bifurcatas, nullo modo valens incedere, per Aliciam matrem suam ad comitem Symonem mensuratus, et in reda quadam Evesham adductus sere in vigilia sanctæ Crucis, anno gratiæ M°. co°. lxv°. Cum mater ipsius prædicta una cum puero ad sepulcrum comitis Symonis, usque ad mediam noctem in vigiliis et orationibus perseverasset, dictus puer meritis martiris surrexit, et in omnibus membris suis sanus factus est, ita quod ad voluntatem suam incessum habuit. Hujus rei testes sunt mater pueri, et Nicholas Grate, et Sara uxor illius, Johannes Herteber, et tota villata Inteberg.

Rosa Tholus passionem quandam sustinuit in capite, cujus omnia organa sensuum doloribus constringebantur, tantum quod dubitabat sensu privari; cujus oculus habuit tumorem et grossidiorem ad mensuram ovi, mensurata ad Comitem, statim convaluit.

Alicia, uxor Nicolai Grate de Inteberg, per dimidium annum et amplius, in gambis, pedibus, et tibiis, tantam sensit debilitatem et molestiam, quod prædicta membra movere non potuit. Quæ ad comitem Symonem mensurata, et in reda quadam apud Evesham advecta, et usque fere mediam noctem vigiliis et orationibus insistens, tantam de infirmitate sensit allevacionem, quod baculo sustentata potuit incedere. Testes hujus rei sunt qui scribuntur in curatione Johannis consequente.

Johannes de Fekham, filius Thomæ Adelard, per duos annos et dimidium gambis et tibiis contractus, et apud Evesham in reda adductus, qui sine duorum baculorum adjutorio per dictum tempus incedere non potuit, meritis et adjutorio martiris nostri convaluit, ita quod baculis abjectis omnino sanus abcessit. Idem de seipso testimonium perhibet, una cum villata de Fekham, et specialiter hii,—Ricardus Hunte, Ricardus de Odebury, Hugo Hunte, Ricardus Chyldessonne, Adam clericus de Odebury. Præscripta autem quatuor miracula vidimus et personas singulorum.

Adam de Habelench, capellanus, habuit nervos suos in poplite contractos, ita quod per sex septimanas incedere non potuit; qui monitionem in sompnis acceperit, ut tumulum comitis Symonis visitaret. Qui visioni prædictæ paruit, sanusque factus est. Idem Evesham veniens, testimonium perhibuit de seipso.

Henricus de Lesseberge, habens dissinteriam per duos annos, mensuratus ad Comitem, convaluit. Hunc perhibent testimonium vicini illius, una cum illo capellano de Bench[am?] qui mensuravit illum.

Rogerus de Peytun, comitatu Lincolniæ, habens guttam in capite nimis pungitivam, mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, convaluit. Ipsemet perhibet testimonium de seipso.

Rogerus, decanus de Werintone, tanta infirmitate in genu dextro detentus, die dominica proximo ante nativitatem Domini anni præsentis, quod a loco ubi sedebat movere non potuit, nec sustinere quod aliquis manum adjutricem apponeret, nec unguentum, nec emplaustrum. Tandem ad memoriam passionem reduxit comitis Symonis, statimque convaluit; ita quod, die natali Domini, divina sine impedimento officia explevit; nec hucusque in aliqua parte infirmitatis signum sentivit. De hoc perhibet testimonium Ricardus, dictus Heremita, qui candelam suam detulit apud Evesham.

Robertus, capellanus et vicarius de Evesham, habens spasmum in gambis et tibiis longo tempore, mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, statim convaluit. Hiis præsentibus, domino abbate de Evesham, fratre Willielmo de Hekelinges, librario monasterii, tunc confessore illius Roberti, et toto conventu.

Item, idem Robertus recitavit de quodam monacho Brueræ, paralitico per septem annos. Iste monachus vidit in sompnis Johannem abbatem suum jam defunctum, una cum milite quodam circuente infirmariam, et, cum ad lectum venissent infirmi, dixit abbati miles, "Quis est iste?" At abbas, "Nobilis psalmicinos fuit." Miles accessit ad eum, et, tetigens, dicens, "Surge in nomine Jhesu, et fac officium tuum!" et statim surrexit sanus, laudans Dominum et comitem Symonem. De hoc perhibet testimonium totus conventus Bruerae cum abbate.

Ricardus Hercy emit pullum equi ad nundinas de Scocia; pullus indomitus ad navem adductus et ligatus, et præ sonitu maris ita perterritus coram nautis et ceteris aspicientibus cecidit mortuus. Consilio facto, ad comitem Symonem mensuratus cum tribus denariis, et super eum plicatis, brevi intervallo surrexit sanus; et tandem cum oblatione apud Evesham adductus. De hoc perhibet testimonium, una cum navi commorantibus.

Johannes de Blanchewelle Lincholniæ, habens quandam infirmitatem, et jacuit contra lectum per sex septimanas, non manducans et vix bibens, mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, statim convaluit. Hujus rei testes Thomas de Blanchewelle et Symon Luwerk.

Willelmus de Lewerk, de villa quæ vocatur Shendeworthe, in comitatu de Hereforde, privatus visu per ix. septimanas, mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, statim lumen recepit. Hujus rei testes domina Matilda de Ochildresley, et Margeria filia ejus, et Nicholaus de Childesley.

Frater Laurencius Cornibiensis, ordinis fratrum minorum, contra festivitatem beatæ Virginis, a discretis physicis in amaria febre adjudicatus; in passione sua prædicta, Comitis merita ad memoriam reducens, statim de infirmitate convaluit. Testis frater fuit Nicholaus de Gulac.

Frater Nicholaus de Gulak, de eodem ordine, habens calculum et gravissimum dolorem senciens, ita ut suus cyrurgicus eum incidere proposuisset; et idem frater, de salute et vita desperatus, nullatenus incidi permisisset. Convertit tandem se ad Dominum, ut meritis sui martiris Symonis comitis eum curare dignaretur. Mira res, in crastino circa horam terciam, cum surrexisset a lecto ut commingeret, cecidit calculus ad pedes ejus, nullo dolore præcedente aut sequente, plene curatus die Martis, in septimana Paschæ, anno gratiæ M°. cc°. lxix°. De hoc perhibet testimonium totus conventus Oxoniæ.

Willelmus de la Rye, miles in Norhamtoneshyre, habens acutam febrem, mensuratus ad Comitem, et sequente nocte prorsus convaluit.

Matildus (*sic*) Sherlonde, frenetica per duos dies et ligata, mensurata ad comitem Simonem, omnino convaluit.

Walter le Forde, piscator de Wisherestrete Lond. commorans s. in vistre, habens duos lucios, hic, quorum unus mortuus per totam noctem, concilio, plicato denario ad comitem Symonem, in crastino invenit illum vivum et cum cauda in panerio ludentem. Testes hujus rei omnes convicanei loci illius.

Quidam sacerdos de Welles, nomine Benedictus, aliquo tempore Comiti contrarius, cum quadam die celebraret divina in celebratione missæ, visum parumper amisit. Post celebrationem vero visum penitus amisit et loquelam. Mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, statim visum et loquelam manifeste recuparavit. Hujus rei tota parochia perhibet testimonium.

Johannes de Herlow de Northhamburland, habens in memoria comitem Symonem in mente ante diem ireticum, convaluit. Ita ut die Lunæ sequenti equitavit sex miliaria. De hoc perhibent testimonium omnes consedales de Northhamburlande.

Matilda Farun de Neubery juxta Ungerford, habens guttam ita pungitivam, unde adjudicata est a vicinis suis mortua; mensurata ad comitem Symonem, statim convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium omnes vicini ejus de Neubury.

Willelmus de la Rye juxta Northhampton, habens acutam [febrim, *vid. antea, p.* 96] mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, convaluit. Unde perhibent testimonium omnes convicanei sui.

Willelmus de Pikeringes Cantuariensis puerum infirmatum habuit usque ad mortem; mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, convaluit. Et, in signum sanitatis, detulit puerum apud Evesham de cera. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota parochia sancti Andreæ Cantuariensis.

Idem Willelmus de Pikeringes, ejusdem villæ, habens puerum unum genu sinistrum ita inflatum quod vix articuli pedis apparerent, mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, statim tota inflatio evanuit. In signum sanitatis, detulit alium puerum de cera. Testes ut supra.

Emma de Dene, paralisi percussa per quatuor dies, ista mensurata est ad diversa loca sanctorum. Tandem mensurata ad comitem Symonem, convaluit, ita ut habuit potestatem se imprimere signo sanctæ crucis, set non multum supervixit. De hoc perhibet testimonium Ricardus vicarius de Wingeham, cum tota parochia.

Christiana de Lullingestone, habens guttam pungitivam a scapulis usque ad manum, a manu usque ad planta pedis, longo tempore, ista mensurata ad comitem Symonem, convaluit. Teste ut supra, de parochia sanctæ Andreæ Cantuariensis.

Walter de Lydeham in comitatu Oxoniæ, habens policem contractum per viij. dies, levatis [lavatis ?] manibus ad fontem comitis Symonis, convaluit; unde qui affuerunt cum eo in præsentia nostra testimonium perhibent.

Guido de Pynele juxta Warrewyk, inutilis et paralisi per x. annos, mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota parochia sancti Laurencii de Worynton.

Henricus Bounde, habens in dextro brachio infirmitatem ignotam per tres annos et dimidium annum et amplius, et hoc cito post mortem Comitis, ipsum brachium ad dictum comitem Symonem mensuravit, et infra tempus trium horarum diei plene convaluit. Idem habens aliud brachium inutile cum cæteris infirmitatibus per dimidium annum et amplius, unde cum a peritis medicis judicaretur pro paralitico, a quibusdam pro ydropico, a quibusdam pro leproso tum propter scabiem et tumorem cutis quam habebat, hic iterum mensuratus, per merita Comitis convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium dominus Johannes filius Johannis, cum domina comitissa de Aubomarle, cum tota familia sua.

Robertus de Gainages de Netrewent, habens filium quinque annorum, puer iste ex quadam infirmitate ab omnibus vicinis mortuus est adjudicatus; concilio facto ad comitem Symonem mensuratus, et, denario plicato, statim respiravit et convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota patria de Netrewent.

Reginaldus de Seynesbury, in comitatu Lincolniæ, habens puellam mortuam ab omnibus vicinis judicatam, mensurata ad comitem Symonem et denario plicato, statim respiravit; et plene et gloriose resuscitata. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota villata de Seynesbury.

Johannes de Ardelle, surdus per dimidium annum, mensuratus ad comitem Symonem et denario plicato, statim auditum recepit. De hoc perhibet testimonium tota parochia sancti Dunstani Londoniarum.

Perpes cum tibiis aucipitris cujusdam militis, per casum inflatus, infirmabatur usque ad mortem, mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, statim convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium, &c.

Henricus, filius Henrici de la Pomere, militis de Devenshire, gravi infirmitate detentus, usque ad mortem a vicinis judicatus; mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, statim convaluit. Iterum, idem Henricus postea infirmitatem fluxus paciebatur, mensuratus autem ad comitem Symonem, sine mora convaluit. Hujus rei tota familia sua perhibet testimonium.

Walter de Bokyngeham, aliquo tempore Comiti contrarius, infirmitatem habens oculorum, præ gravi apostemate in corpore infirmabatur, ita quod nullus medicus sibi sanitatem promiserat, sed mortem. Hic mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, ex utraque ægritudine plenarie convaluit. De hoc perhibent testimonium vicini sui.

Quædam mulier nomine Agnes, per sex septimanas omnium membrorum suorum officium et possibilitatem amiserat, ita quod sine sustentamento neque ambulare neque movere se poterat; mensurata ad comitem Symonem, statim convaluit. De hoc perhibet testimonium, &c.

Quædam mulier nomine Matilda de Blythe, gravi infirmitate diu detenta, tandem infirmitate gravante mortua est. Facto concilio, mensurata ad comitem Symonem, statim revixit et convaluit. De utroque miraculo omnes vicini sui perhibent testimonium.

Margareta uxor Willelmi Mauncelle, de comitatu Gloverniæ, aliquo tempore Comiti contraria et inimica, incidit in quandam ægritudinem quæ vocatur frenesis, ita quod sensum penitus amisit per duos dies. Cui comes Symon apparuit per visionem et dixit sibi, "Cur mihi detrahis, et semper de me loqueris malum?" At illa, pœnitencia ducta, de maledictis petiit veniam. Comes concessit. Illa vero dictum comitem Symonem interrogavit, quid eveniret de suis adversariis et inimicis? At ipse dixit, "Quidam pœnitent, quidam pœnitebunt, et quidam mala morte sine pœnitentia morientur." Hæc autem, ad comitem Symonem mensurata, statim convaluit. De hoc vicini sui perhibent testimonium.

Sthephanus, filius Symonis Badbyry juxta Malberge, subito gravi infirmitate detentus, ita quod a vicinis suis pro mortuo fuerat judicatus, facto concilio, mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, statim revixit et convaluit. De hoc perhibent testimonium omnes vicini sui.

Michaell, vicarius de Wychyndone juxta Salusbury, habuit tibiam inflatam, ita quod per maximam inflationem pellis tibiæ fuerat dirupta, et adhuc remanente passione tumoris, hic mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, statim convaluit. De hoc omnes vicini sui perhibent testimonium.

Willelmus Ayse de Forneyse habuit cancrum in utroque pede, ita quod sine sustentatione vix incedere potuit. Fuit etiam paraliticus, ita quod in dextera parte sui corporis potestatem penitus amiserat. Veniens ad ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ et sancti Egwini Eveshamme, et ibi per paucos dies moram faciens, ex utraque infirmitate plenarie convaluit. Hujus rei testes congregatio conventualis Eveshamme.

Thomas Walding de Tuddenham habuit guttam in sinistra manu valde gravidam, ita quod non potuit movere manum illam, quæ quidam gutta ascendebat in sinistra parte capitis, et ita inflatum fuit caput, quod vix potuit videre, aut loqui. Demum, inspirante Dei gratia, et denario super eum plicato ad sanctum Symonem, statim ab illa gravissima infirmitate convaluit. De hoc perhibent testimonium tota familia sua, et tota provincia sua.

Quædam mulier de Donechirche juxta Donesmore, Avicia nomine, ita contracta fuit in manibus et pedibus et in omnibus aliis membris, quod nullo modo ire aut se movere potuit; et hoc duravit per diem et dimidium et per duas noctes. Gaudium! ista mensurata ad comitem Symonem, statim pristinam convaluit vel recuperavit sanitatem. De hoc perhibent testimonium omnes vicini sui.

Emma mulier de villa de Auburne, de comitatu Lincolniæ, habuit filiam nomine Elianore, de ætate fere duorum annorum, quæ casu, die sanctæ Trinitatis anno gratiæ M°. cc°. septuagesimo secundo, cecidit in quodam vivario, et submarsa est, et mortua. Mater reperiens postea filiam suam ita submarsam, statim extraxit eam de aqua, et mensuravit ad comitem Symonem; statim puella pristinæ sanitati, divina gratia opitulante, restituitur. De hoc omnes vicini sui perhibent testimonium.

Quædam mulier Cantuar', Agnes nomine, uxor Henrici medici, quadam gravi gutta percussa in manu dextra, et detenta per annum et dimidium, ita quod eandem manum movere non potuit, se penitus illam amisisse credebat; ita, statim manu ad Comitem mensurata, pristinam recuperavit sanitatem. Et in signum hujus rei, apud Evesham ad dictum comitem Symonem unam manum de cera transmisit. Hujus rei testimonium perhibent omnes vicini sui.

Thomas Atteheye, quidam vir Cantuariæ, habuit frigidam guttam in omnibus suis membris, ita quod nec ambulare, nec in aliquo membro se movere potuit; et hoc per annum duravit. Iste, ad comitem Symonem mensuratus, statim convaluit, et itinere apud Evesham arrepto personaliter, ibidem, cum multis vicinis suis, accessit. Et hujus rei testimonium de visu omnes plene perhibebant.

Agnes de Sutton, et filia sua Bonce nomine, tantam cæcitatem oculorum per triduum annum paciebantur, quod nichil penitus viderunt. Tandem, invocato Dei auxilio, mensuratæ sunt ad comitem Symonem, et pristinum visum receperunt. De hoc vicini perhibent testimonium.

Symon filius Johannis Bundiht, de Tartrintonne juxta Arundelle, gravissima in omnibus membris suis per duos annos et dimidium detentus infirmitate, ita quod penitus nullum corporis sui membrum movere potuit. Iste mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, omnium membrorum suorum statim recuperavit sanitatem, et accedens apud Evesham cum multis vicinorum suorum, testimonio hujus rei veritatem affirmavit; et de hoc perhibuit testimonium domina Johanna de la Mare, et domina Awysa de Newylle, et plurimi.

Willelmus, filius Willelmi de Westone juxta Northhamptone, tam gravi infirmitate detentus, quod a die Jovis mane usque ad diem Sabboti proximum sequentem, omnibus circumstantibus et eum videntibus, tanquam mortuus reputabatur. Iste, ad comitem Symonem post triduum mensuratus, statim divina opitulante gratia pristinæ sanitati. Hujus rei testimonium, Thomas frater, Allexander Noverei, prior de ordine Prædicatorum Leycestriæ, et Robertus Novery frater suus, et tota familia sua ejusdem Willelmi.

Allexander de Suffolchia civis Londoniarum, qui manet in parochia Sancti Martini inter tabernas, per quinquennium tantam in testiculis paciebatur infirmitatem, ita quod vix mingere potuit, qui tantum inflati fuerunt testiculi quod nullus locus habilis fuit ad urinam faciendam. Iste, ope medici credens sanari, posuit quandam tentam in quadam apertura quæ aparuit in testiculo et nodavit filum in fine illius tentæ, quo melius eandem cum necesse fuerit extrahere possit. Postea accidit quod philum cum dicta tenta in eodem membro retractum est, quod ventrum per biennium videri potuit. Tandem accessit quidam movens infirmum ut quæreret aquam de fonte comitis Symonis apud Evesham, et lavaret membrum sic inflatum; quod ita factum est, et statim apparuit pristina apertura, et dictus infirmus videns tentam cum quodam cultello eandem extraxit cum toto philo, et iterum lavit membrum suum cum eadem aqua, et sanata est dicta apertura, et totum membrum suum in pristinam redditur sanitatem. Hujus rei testimonium perhibuit Michael' Toni, cum tota familia sua, Roger Marescallus, Robertus Corbe, et Robertus filius Roberti Herdelle, et alii multi qui hoc viderunt, &c.

Philippus Pecche, de villa de Corni de comitatu Lincolniæ, gravi detentus infirmitate, ita quod per totum diem mortuus reputabatur, tandem, inito amicorum consilio, mensuratus fuit ad comitem Symonem, et statim revixit, et sanus factus est. De hoc perhibet testimonium convicanei sui.

Richardus de Wycumbe, civis Londoniarum, percussus paralisi in dextera parte per tres septimanas, ita quod nichil potuit movere dexteram partem, iste mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, statim pristinam recuperavit sanitatem. Inde perhibent testimonium omnes vicini sui.

Willelmus de Hales, civis Londoniarum, gravi infirmitate detentus per octo septimanas, ita quod de vita sua penitus desperavit; demum ad comitem Symonem mensuratus, statim convaluit, et de illa infirmitate curatus est.

Idem Willelmus de Hales, in brevi postea percussus paralisi in parte dextera, ita quod tibiam dexteram movere non potuit, sed penitus illam amisisse credebat, iterum mensuravit se ad comitem Symonem, et statim pristinam optinuit sanitatem. De hoc perhibent testimonium omnes vicini sui.

Magister Gilbertus de Sancto Leofardo habuit quandam infirmitatem, quæ ipsum per vices invasit ineffabili cruciatu; cujus insultus sustinuit proculdubio octo annis et amplius; et ipsum semper tempore nocturno est aggressa, ipsum aliquando usque ad meridiem, aliquando usque ad nonam, aliquando prolixius, ac si dente canina frustratim undique circa regionem spiritualium dilaniaretur lamentabili penalitate corrodendo. Cujus infirmitatis acerbitas quamdiu duravit, amaritudo passionis ipsum compulit in terra prostratum, aliquando more parturientis vel dementis de loco ad locum voluntare, aliquando se erigere sursum et in varias partes domus saltando currere præ corrosione morbi, qui ipsum ab inferiori parte cordis usque ad cerebrum compressit, et secuit circumquaque, ita quod miraculum videbatur pacienti fragilitatem suæ naturæ tantæ passionis vehemenciam posse evadere sine morte. Et licet frequenter ad mitigationem morbi usus fuisset ope et opera medicorum, magis tum obfuit quam profuit procul dubio quod fecerunt. Tandem invalescente morbo, cum simul ipsum aliquantulum gravius et prolixius arriperet quam solebat, cubicularius suus locutus est, ei dicens, "Domine, dicitur quod multa miracula fiunt pro Symone de Mounteforti et sociis suis; bonum esset vovere vos sibi, ut videtur." Cui respondit languidus, "Placet michi quod sic fiat; plica sibi et sociis denarium, qui apud Evesham secum requiescunt, et si contingat me hujus passionis amaritudine expirare, deferas illuc denarium vitæ meæ. Si vero possum evadere, ipsos personaliter visitabo." Et ecce, hoc facto, stimulus cruciatus tanti subito mollescit; et infirmus se transferens ad lectum suaviter incidit in soporem. Qui videbatur in sompno quod quidam apparuit ei tradens sibi tria paria litterarum, quæ sub sigillis clausæ erant; quarum una utrinque gibbosa fuerat, habens interius grossum aliquid involutum, prout sibi videbatur, et locutus est infirmo sic, "Frange et lege." Et cum languidus ille fregisset, et aperuisset primam plicaturam illius litteræ, quæ sic gibbosa videbatur, invenit in ea pixidem pulcherrimam de metallo involutam, in cujus fundo oleum fuerat valde purum et serenum. Et dixit languido bajulus litteræ, "Aperi litteram totam, et lege eam." Languidus rogavit illum quod ipse eam aperiret; qui cum eam apertam ante faciem languidi ostentaret, apparuerunt in ea milites armati equis suis insedentes, filo serico subtilissime consuti, et valde delectabiles in aspectu. In superiori ordine, linealiter una comitiva militaris; in inferiori, alia; in tercio ordine, tercia; et sic ulterius per totam membranam, quæ mirabiliter creverat in latum et longum inter manus ostendentis. Et dixit bajulus languido, "Lege has quæ inter cæteras picturas in hac membrana sunt conscriptæ." Quas cum languidus inspexisset et legisset, scripta fuerant ibidem ista verba: "Ista utere et nulla præparatione," quibus lectis evanuit bajulus ille. Et languidus ille expergefactus intellexit quod ad convalescenciam infirmitatis suæ sufficere sibi deberet, pro medicina, memoria passionis Symonis de Mountforti, et aliorum militum qui apud Evesham martirium sunt perpessi. Quod et factum est; ab illo tempore, ab infirmitate supradicta meritis dicti sancti [et] sociorum suorum penitus est curatus.

Quædam mulier, Isabella nomine, manens super pontem Londoniæ per dimidium annum, detenta gravi infirmitate, ita durante morbo contracta facta in omnibus membris ejus, in tantum quod nullum membrum corporis movere potuit. Tandem, invalescente morbo, penitus privata est usu loquendi per spacium trium dierum, et inter omnes vicinos pro mortua reputabatur. Demum, habito quorumdam amicorum suorum concilio, die Veneris in festo sancti Dunstani anno gratiæ M. cc. lxx. tercio, mensurata fuit ad comitem Symonem; statim de utroque morbo curata est, et officium linguæ incontinenti, per Dei gratiam et merita sancti Symonis, gloriose recuperavit. Et die Dominica proxima sequenti, scilicet in Pentecosten, cum vicinis suis ecclesiam corporaliter visitavit, et in signum suæ convalescenciæ quandam ymaginem ceræ apud Evesham destinavit. Hujus rei testimonium omnes vicini perhibent.

Quidam puer, Johannes nomine, filius Philippy de Sancta Maria in Creiden, Kent, cecidit in torrentem et submersus mortuus est. Pater pueri, gemens et lacrimans, extraxit illum de torrente, et reposuit in domum suum, mortuum custodiens usque ad vesperam. Postea dictum puerum ad sanctum Symonem mensuravit, et statim convaluit; quem pater et mater corporaliter apud Evesham adduxerunt. De hoc testimonium perhibent omnes convicanei sui.

Symon de Pateshulle, miles, dominus de Blechesho, in comitatu de Bedforde, oppressus gravissima infirmitate et subitanea circa cor, die Assencionis Domini, anno gratiæ M°. cc°. septuagesimo tercio, mane, mortem metuens supervenientem, omnia jura ecclesiastica festinanter sibi dari præcepit, et factum est quod statim usu loquendi privatus ab omni populo circumstanti mortuus reputebatur, usque ad horam meridianam. Postea mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, statim revixit, et de omni morbo salubriter est curatus; et modum loquendi plenarie recuperavit, et, apud Evesham postmodum personaliter accedens, oblationem suam ibidem reportavit. Hujus rei testes sunt omnes familiares sui cum tota provincia.

Dominus Willelmus de London. capellanus, rector ecclesiæ de Hekyntone, adversa valitudine detentus, ita quod ire non potuit, sed in grabato jacens a media quadragesima usque festum sanctæ Trinitatis; postea mensuratus ad comitem Symonem, Deo opitulante, recuperavit sanitatem; et in signum suæ sanitatis destinavit Evesham ymaginem ceræ indutam alba et casula ad modum sacerdotis; datum anno Domini Millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto.

Stephanus Aungevin de Donestaple habuit quendam filium, qui nominabatur Johannes, qui gravi infirmitate et subito circa cor detinebatur quadam ante horam nonam, et, morbo ita ingravescente ab illa hora usque ad vesperam, quasi mortuus ab omnibus reputabatur; et accessit quidam portans aquam de fonte Comitis, guttatim perfudit circa labia pueri, ut puer aquam bajulans, et postea hauriens, et astantes oculos ejus lavabant, et eundem postea ad comitem Symonem mensuraverunt, et, apertis oculis ejus, membra sua cæpit movere, scilicet manus et pedes, et statim convaluit; et postea pater et mater dictum puerum apud Evesham adduxerunt ad tumbam beati Simonis, cum vicinis suis testimonium inde perhibentibus.

Henricus, filius Gunuldæ de Ketene, juxta Staunforde, percussus morbo paralitico in parte dextera, ita quod usura dextri brachii per tres septimanas penitus amisit, nec quicquam manum ac brachium movere potuit, sed ligatum circa collum suum portavit: qui tandem ad tumulum beati Simonis veniens, et, accepto pulvere de dicta tumba, brachium suum fricuit, et statim sanus effectus est coram multis astantibus, et hoc aperte videntibus.

Margareta, uxor Willelmi de Boteler de Merstone, peperit filium quendam Willelmum nomine, qui a nativitate brachium dextrum habuit longo tempore dorso returnatum, quem nutrix toto tempore caute abscondit, ne a domino, vel matre, vel familia, pro dolore videretur. Tandem volente et præcipiente matre puerum videre, oblatus est ei puer, quo viso mater, cum familia dolore repleta, dictum puerum et brachium ita retortum ad sanctum Symonem mensuravit; hoc facto, statim puer brachium suum mobiliter erexit et reflexit. Et hoc cunctis intuentibus patenter innotuit.

Willelmus Colstone de Tadcastre, in comitatu Eboracensi, contractus ita enormiter in parte sinistra, ita quod tibia sinistra ventri reflexa, brachio etiam ejusdem partis miro modo curvato, capite terræ inclinato, sic ut horribile monstrum appareret intuentibus; et tali detinebatur infirmitate, a Pentecosten, anno gratiæ M°. cc°. septuagesimo quarto, usque sextam feriam ante festum Annunciationis anno ejusdem gratiæ septuagesimo sexto; qui, veniens apud Evesham quarta feria procedente, et ibidem in ecclesia conventuali feria sexta circa horam terciam coram magno altare dormiens, apparuit, ut videbatur, in sompno ei quædam formosa domina cum duobus armigeris albis, quasi descendentes per fenestras vitreas ultra magnum altare ad locum ubi jacebat, et excitantes ipsum ut surgeret, nec potuit. Tandem dicta domina, accipiens ipsum per humerum dextrum, præcepit ei ut levaret; et ipse statim brachiis et tibiis extensis, conventu et populo hoc vidente, sanus effectus est circa horam diei terciam.

Anno domini M°. cc°. septuagesimo octavo, die Veneris proxima post festum beati Petri ad Vincula, lecia Lamede Machare nomine, de parochia Sanctæ Brigidæ, de vico de Fletebrigge Londoniarum manens, infirmitatem gravem recepit ita quod viribus corporalibus fere destituebatur; et ex parte sinistra a planta pedis usque ad armillas turgida fuit, quasi ydropyca, nec potuit a prædicto die usque Natale proximum sequens ecclesiam adire, nisi baculo et alio fulcimento sibi subveniretur. Tandem adveniente Natali tantum prædicta gravabatur infirmitate, quod de vita sua desperabatur. Dicta vero mulier, tam gravi infirmitate detenta, vovit quod ad crucem et ad beatum Symonem apud Evesham personaliter accederet, suæ sanitatis imploratura suffragium. Ipsa vero in langore sic consistens in septimana Pentecostes, anno sequenti, turgida et contracta per virum suum ducebatur Evesham in quadam cinera, cum una rota et duobus pedibus; quæ cum venisset ibidem, die beati Petri ad Vincula, et in ecclesia per totum diem se orasset, in crastino ducebatur in dicta cinera ad fontem beati Symonis, et ibidem se oravit et ex aqua bibit et corpus suum lavit; quibus peractis, mox sanitatem recepit, et statim erecta et sana sine aliquo fulcimento ad ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ et beati Eggwini pervenit, et ibidem de sanitate recuperata Deum laudavit.

Henricus, diaconus de Bourton super Trent, sedens in capella sita super pontem, ultra flumen quod vocatur Trent in eadem villa, scribens, et subito inflatu miserandi venti insoliti cœcus factus, et, vanitate in cerebro percussus, cecidit in terram quasi mortuus, et sic permansit omnino cœcus per triennium. Sed in misericordia Dei sperans, adductus ad Robertum de Knaresborue, et ad Sanctum Thomam Cantuar', et alibi per totam Angliam, ubi ulla spes fuerit alicujus sancti. Atque quodam die cæpit animo involvere ut adduceretur ad comitem Symonem apud Evesham, et cum adductus esset, stans in choro ubi sepultus fuerat Comes, orans devote, monachis ejusdem loci missam matutinalem audientibus omnibus astantibus, divina gracia redditus est ei visus perspicuus.

Memorandum, quod quidam homo de Lewe in Lyndessey, nomine Robertus le Thormy, habebat quendam puerum nomine Nicholaum, qui die Lunæ proximo ante nativitatem beatæ Mariæ, anno Domini M°. cc°. septuagesimo vij°., cecidit in quodam puteo in curia dicti Roberti, circa horam tertiam, et ibi mortuus exstitit usque post nonam. Eodem die prædictus Robertus venit de Essex, quæsivit de uxore sua nomine Constantina, ubi erant pueri sui; illa autem quasi dormiens, "Nescio;" dicti autem Robertus et uxor sua quæsierunt infantem, et invenerunt eum in puteo, et extraxerunt mortuum de puteo, et fecerunt planctum magnum; et mensuraverunt eum ad comitem Symonem; et venit quidam senex inter eos, qui dixit eis, "Ponite puerum inter vos, ut recipiat naturalem calorem." Et, hiis dictis, disparuit senex, et ita factum est et revixit inter illos.

Anno Domini M. cc. lx. v. Octavo Symonis Montisfortis sociorumque ejus, pridie nonas Augusti.

Salve, Symon Montis-Fortis,
  totius flos militiæ,
Duras pœnas passus mortis,
  Protector gentis Angliæ.

Sunt de sanctis inaudita,
Cunctis passis in hac vita,
  Quemquam passum talia;
Manus, pedes amputari,
Caput, corpus vulnerari,
  Abscidi virilia.
Sis pro nobis intercessor
Apud Deum, qui defensor
  In terris exterritas.

Ora pro nobis, beate Symon! ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

P. 1, *l.* 11.—*Quicquid salubrius.* This is a quotation from one of the fathers, probably St. Bernard, but I am not able to make an exact reference.

P. 2, *l.* 14.—*Multæ tribulationes.* Psal. xxxiii.

—— *l.* 15.—*Auctoritas.* This word is used generally for a text of Scripture; see MS. Harl. 106, and Tyrwhitt's notes on Ver. 6858 of the Canterbury Tales. What follows it here is a quotation from one of the fathers.

—— *l.* 23.—*Cruentissima dissensione.* The state of the country during these wars must have been dreadful. "Tunc invaluit guerra in omnibus finibus Angliæ inter regem et barones, et multa mala facta sunt; videlicet in combustione divitum, ac pauperum spoliatione, et plurimorum castrorum prostratione."—Chronicon Willelmi de Schepisheved,* MS. Cotton. Faust. B. VI, fol. 75, r°.

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* This is a chronicle of the abbey of Crokesden, and the author thus speaks of himself, "Willelmus de Schepisheved, qui hæc nomina ad memoriam mortuorum, et cronicas sequentes ad solacium fratrum vivorum, compilavit. Et hoc ideo dixit ut apud legentes mutuum laboris optineat, quatinus pietatis affectum dicere dignentur. Anima illius per misericordiam Dei requiescat in pace! Amen." Fol. 92, v°, β. This occurs in the list of abbats, which are placed in the MS. after the chronicle instead of before it. At the end of his chronicle, Schepisheved has amused himself by writing the following proverb:—

"Leef henne wen ho leith,
Looth wen ho clok seith."—MS. fol. 91, v°.

See also an article by Sir Frederick Madden, containing extracts from this Chronicle, in the Collectanea Topographica, vol. ii. pp. 297—310.

The following verses, taken from MS. Cotton. Otho, D. VIII. Frag. Rams. Pars iv. fol. 215, vo, β, are confirmatory of this statement:—

"Anglia vix ferre poterat prænuncia terræ:
Nam gentes mæstas panis faciebat egestas;
Famis tempestas venit quam protulit æstas,
Qua populus flebat, quem mors fera tunc feriebat;
Tellus defecit, quia non sua germina jecit,
Ac mare, tunc pecora fuerant quia pauca decora,
Non poterant vendi nec debita quæque rependi.
Sextum post terra subit annum prælia guerra;

Tunc proceres et rex, cui semper velle fuit sex,
Unanimi velle se sponte dedere procellæ,
Hii quia cum clero statuere statuta novella,
In populo misero post sæva movencia bella,
Oxoniæ lata sunt demum sic reprobata,
Multis inflicta foret ut mors pace relicta.
Namque juravit rex ipse statuta tenere,
Infregit temere quia pacem tunc reprobavit."

The dearth and famine alluded to happened in the year 1258, and contributed greatly to the general discontent of the people. All contemporary writers speak of it with horror. The Ramsey chronicler (MS. Frag. Otho, fol. 214, r°,) speaks of Kent as the county which suffered most. "Fames maxima fuit in Anglia, præ nimia pluviarum abundantia, quam in pluribus regni partibus ad festum omnium Sanctorum vix messes reconderentur."—MS. Chron. Anon. Titus, D. xv, fol. 26, r°. "Tanta erat fames in Anglia, quod pauperes comederunt herbas pro fame, et quarterium frumenti vendebatur pro xxiiij. solidis."* MS. Arundel. Coll. Arm. No. 10, fol. 113, r°, β. But the following, from Taxter's Chronicle,* is the most ample account I have met with :—

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* See also the Scalacronica, ed. Stevenson, p. 101. The high price of provisions, however, according to Matthew Paris, was not so much owing to scarcity, as to the

"Hoc anno (1257) immoderata sæpe extitit pluvia, sed et tanta inundatio erupit idus Julii, ut domos, muros, et arbores prosterneret, et sæva impetu aquarum sullata pontes innumerabiles fregerunt.

"1258. Penuria omnium bonorum sequitur precedentis anni inundationem. Nam quartarium frumenti, quod raro inveniebatur, ad xv. sol. et etiam usque xx. sol. vendebatur. Unde tanta fames orta est ut pauperes carnem equinam, cortices arborum, vel quod deterius est, comederent. Innumerabiles fame defecerunt. Eodem anno, omnia farris genera copiose terris data per pluviam autumpnalem pene sunt perdita, et ultra festum Omnium Sanctorum blada in pluribus locis in campis jacebant; plurimi etiam diebus dominicis et aliis diebus festis, quæ sereniores habebantur, blada sua in horrea ducebant."—MS. Cott. Julius, A. I. fol. 40, r°.

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immense sums of money that the Earl of Cornwall had taken out of the country; Paris, p. 958, and Tyrrell, ii. (977.) This Earl's immense riches caused the following epigram,

"Nummus ait, pro me
Nubit Cornubia Romæ."

Cf. MS. Harl. 4878, fol. 76, v°.

* It will be seen that Taxter does not state the price of corn to be so high as the two authorities above stated, which is easily to be accounted for by his living in another part of the country. Taxter's Chronicle has not been printed, although curious and valuable there are two complete MSS. of it, viz. MS. Cotton. Julius, A. I. and MS. Arundel. Coll. Arm. No. 6. From the former of these, fol. 37, v°, and from the latter fol. 123, r°, α, we learn that Taxter became a monk of Bury St. Edmund's in the year 1245 :—"Hoc anno scriptor præsentis voluminis habitum suscepit monachalem dominus de Tayster, die Sancti Edmundi, M.cc.xlv." Owing to Taxter having made use of two eras, this date has been hitherto mistaken for 1277 by all writers who have had occasion to speak of him. For the same reason, the catalogues state that the chronicle extends to the year 1287, whereas in point of fact the narration in both manuscripts concludes with the account of the battle of Evesham in 1265. Sharon Turner falls into the same error, Hist. i. 440. The first portion of Taxter's Chronicle is taken from Marianus Scotus.

The Liber Niger of Christ Church, Dublin, also agrees to a certain extent with Taxter, and asserts that vast numbers died of hunger. "Hoc anno, infra quindenam Sancti Micaelis, fuit maximus ventus et ultra modum horribilis tempestas in terra et in mari."—MS. Liber de Antiquis Legibus, sub ann. 1259. Afterwards, the civil wars were as pernicious as those of the sky. "His temporibus magna pars Angliæ per cædes et incendia destructa est."—Chron. Stephani Birchington, MS. Harl. 4231 (5), fol. 21, r°.

P. 2, *l.* 25.—*Occasione provisionum.* "Et hoc fuit initium dolorum et origo mortalis gwerræ, per quam tot maneria combusta sunt, et tot homines, divites, et pauperes, deprædati, et tot mille homines perierunt."—MS. Liber de Antiquis Legibus, fol. 88, v°, *a*. Chronicon Lewes, MS. Cotton. Tiber. A. x. fol. 181, v°, *β*; MS. Bib. Reg. 13 E. IX., fol. 176, v°, *β*; et MS. Cotton. Faust. B. VI. fol. 75, r°. The following verses are from MS. Cotton. Otho, D. VIII. Frag. Rams. Pars IV. fol. 218, r°, *a*, *β*:—

"Hinc oritur guerra, miserabilis fit bona terra;
Prædia nam vastant qui regis partibus astant
Baronum propere, sic regia jussa fuere;
Villas incendunt, animalia plurima vendunt;
Hæc dum patrantur, barones ludificantur.
Post hæc Edwardus regi, rex atque Ricardus,
Ut bellum propere faciat rex, consuluere,
Ut sic confusi barones sintve retrusi."

—— *l.* 27.—*Convenientibus.* The numbers assembled at the Mad Parliament at Oxford must have been very great: according to one writer, sixty thousand persons congregated together.—MS. C.C.C.C. No. 70. See our Chronicle, p. 8.

P. 3, *l.* 2.—*Omnis iniquitatis auctore.* Nearly the same expression is used by the author of the Ramsey fragment:—"Ut dicit Ysaias, *Iratus sum super populum meum, contaminavi hæreditatem meam;*[*] quod utique tempore regis Henrici tertii terræ Anglicanæ nullus ambigit evenisse. Cum enim prædictus rex totius Angliæ monarchiam XLVII. annorum curriculis summa videretur pace rexisse, tandem, instigante diabolo, inter regem proceresque suos pro statutis Oxoniæ dirimendis præstigialis est orta dissentio."—MS. Cotton. Otho, D. VIII. fol. 214, r°. Perhaps the following is a sensible view of the case:—"Wherein we see what effects it wrought, how no side got but misery and vexation; whilst the one struggled to doe more than it should, and the other to doe lesse than it ought, they both had the worst, according to the usuall events of such imbroylements."—Daniel's Collection of the Historie of England, fol. Lond. 1617, p. 155. See also Nicolas's London Chronicle, p. 20.

P. 3, *l*. 12.—*Regno quoque.* This sentence, to the end of the paragraph, is most probably a quotation from some charter.

—— *l*. 22.—*Floruerunt autem.* I insert here the following extract from Taxter's Chronicle, although perhaps it more properly belongs to p. 8:—

"Hiis diebus, fratres regis Pictavenses, et parentes reginæ Sauveienses, et etiam regina Angliæ, unusquisque ubi dominabantur tirannides regias intollerabiliter excercentes, proceres regni contra eos exacuerunt. Unde post Pascham convenientibus cunctis proceribus Angliæ apud Oxoneford, promulgata sunt statuta quædam, ut dicebatur, ad exaltationem ecclesiasticæ libertatis et regiæ coronæ, et etiam ad utilitatem totius regni Angliæ, præsente domino rege et ejus filio primogenito Edwardo, qui dictis statutis sigilli regii et sacramenti auctoritate assensum præbuerunt, licet inviti. Proceres enim regni sacramento et obligatione inter se condixerunt, quod pre dictorum statutorum observatione, si necesse foret, morti se exponerent, et in eos qui ea nollent observare cursuros. Unde ad dictum parliamentum, Audomarus electus Wintoniæ, Willelmus de Valence, et cæteri fratres regis Pictavenses et Sauveienses, a regno Angliæ expulsi sunt. Quibus expulsis, prædictæ tortuosæ exactiones paulatim cessare ceperunt."—MS. Cotton. Julius, A. I. fol. 40, r°.

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[*] Cap. xlvii. vers. 6.

P. 4, *l.* 30.—*Si quis insuper.* This fact is given with little variation in our author's continuation of Matthew Paris, p. 989.

P. 6, *l.* 12.—*Litteraturæ.* Rishanger, in his continuation of Matthew Paris, bestows on Leicester, as Sir James Mackintosh says, "the unwonted praise of literature," History of England, i. 238. But I think Rishanger is a credible authority, and I see no reason why the intimate friend of Grosteste should not have been attached to learning.

——*l.* 30.—*Pace ecclesiæ.* Throughout the whole of his career, Montfort showed respect for the Church, and the property of the Church. In 1263, when the Archbishop of Canterbury at Boulogne issued an excommunication against several of the barons, and even including two sons of Leicester, for ecclesiastical depredations, yet we do not find Montfort himself included in the sentence. See MS. Bodl. 91. Bern. 1891, p. 136, where is an ancient copy of the original document.

P. 7, *l.* 7.—*Beato Roberto.* "Venerabilis Robertus Grosted, Lincoln. episcopus, in cathologo sanctorum merito connumerandus."—Mem. Willelmi Wyrcestre, MS. Cotton. Julius, F. VII. fol. 56, r°. But although Grosteste's piety was so universally acknowledged, that he was often styled *Beatus*, yet that honour could never be obtained from the Papal see, although solicited for him in the strongest terms. See Pegge's Life of Grosteste, p. 217; Wharton's Anglia Sacra, ii. 343; and Bale, iv. 18.

—— *l.* 15.—*O fili carissime.* This is also related in our author's continuation of Matthew Paris, p. 998.

P. 7, *l.* 18.—*Miracula.* Cf. Bale, iv. 18. I am not aware that any narrative of his miracles is extant.

—— *l.* 22.—*Durum foret.* The reading in the Latin Vulgate is, " Durum est tibi contra stimulum calcitrare."—Act. ix.

P. 8, *l.* 8.—*Apud Oxoniam.* " Apud Oxenford celebratum fuit generale parliamentum, rege Henrico præsente cum omnibus nobilibus regni Angliæ, et tractatum fuit generaliter ibidem de omnibus negotiis regni emendandis: et juratum fuit ab omnibus, tam a rege quam ab archiepiscopo et ab omnibus episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, et omnibus aliis, quod omnia secundum sua statuta ibidem provisa emendarentur. Rex etiam ipse juravit, et statuta illa et provisiones ibidem factas sigillo regio confirmavit. Et quia Aymerus, electus Wintoniæ, et Willelmus de Valence, Galfridus de Liseni, Guido de Liseni, fratres scilicet domini regis, ipsis provisionibus non assenserunt, nec ordinationi parium suorum stare voluerunt, expulsi sunt a terra Angliæ et ejecti."—Chronicon Dovoriæ, MS. Cotton. Julius, D. v. fol. 31, r°. Henry afterwards deeply regretted his assent to these provisions:—" Eodem tempore, ex assensu totius barnagii, dominus rex statuta Angliæ apud Oxoniam ordinavit et juravit ipse, cum Edwardo primogenito suo et barnagio, eadem statuta irrefragabiliter observari. Processu temporis, dominus rex penituit se juramentum fecisse."—Rishangeri opus chronicorum, MS. Cotton. Claud. D. VI. fol. 115, v°, *a*.

P. 12, *l.* 5.—*Johannes Maunsel.* This person held seven hundred livings, which brought him an income of 18,000 marks.—Chron. de Mailros, p. 239. When pluralism was carried to such an unprecedented extent with the foreigners, it was no wonder that the native clergy should express their dissatisfaction.

—— *l.* 9.—*Latenter.* Cf. Annales Theoksbur. MS. Cotton. Cleop. A. VII. fol. 65, v°, et MS. Cotton. Otho, D. VIII. fol. 217, v°, *β*.

P. 12, *l.* 10.—*In qua rex.* "Dominus autem rex et regina posuerunt se in turri Londoniæ cum consiliaribus suis, videlicet Johanne Maunsel, Roberto Walrand, et aliis paucis. Dominus Edmundus, filius regis junior, postea venit ad castrum Dovoriæ cum Johanne Mansel, qui, timens pelli suæ, die sanctorum Petri et Pauli transfretavit usque Bonon., prædicto domino Edmundo in castro Dovoriæ remanente, cum quodam milite de Francia, Gerardo de Rodes nomine, et aliis paucis. Johannes vero Mansel apud Bonon. honorifice susceptus est."—Chronicon Dovoriæ, MS. Cotton. Julius, D. v. fol. 37, v°. These particulars are, as far as I know, new. Cf. Calend. Rot. Pat. p. 33.

P. 12, *l.* 24.—*Intercepta est.* Matthew of Westminster seems to have borrowed his account of this event from our chronicle. A good relation may be seen in Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens, vol. ii. p. 131. "Regina vero volens se transferre ad castrum de Wyndelesor per fluvium in scapha, multitudo civitatis plebeia, ad pontem sub quo transitura erat congregata, convitio eam maledicebat voce clamosa, et jactu luti et lapidum ad Turrim coegit reverti."—MS. Hospit. Lincoln. Hal. 68 (73). The Queen was most unpopular, and deservedly so,—

"Dum rex Henricus Christi permansit amicus,
Et sine regina, nulla fuit illi ruina."

MS. Cotton. Otho, D. VIII. fol. 214, v°, *a*, See also the same MS. fol. 217, v°, *β*. We find no account of this affair in the Liber de Antiquis Legibus. Cf. Nicolas's London Chron. p. 22. Chron. Triveti, p. 197.

P. 13, *l.* 3.—*Forma pacis.* From the Liber de Antiquis Legibus (fol. 85, v°, *β*—86, r°, *a*) we learn, that on the morrow after the feast of St. Margaret (July 21st) the King's writ to the mayor and citizens of London was read in the Guildhall, setting forth that the differences between him and the Barons were settled. "Igitur inter Regem et

Comitem pax conditionalis formata est. Imprimis, ut Henricus regis Alemanniæ filius, qui captus contra regem comitem adhærebat, et in custodia regis detentus fuerat, liberaretur. Deinde ut castra regis per totam Angliam baronum custodiæ traderentur. Item, ut Provisiones Oxoniæ inviolabiliter observarentur, et quod omnes alienigenæ infra certum tempus regnum Angliæ evacuerent, exceptis hiis quorum moram fideles de regno assensu unanimi accepti essent. Sed hiis non obstantibus, pars regia castrum de Wyndelesor victualibus et armis fortiter munivit."—MS. Hospit. Lincoln. Hale, 68 (73).

P. 13, *l.* 19.—*Venit Edwardus.* Good accounts of this affair may be found in MS. Harl. 68, (73), and in the Liber de Antiquis Legibus.

P. 14, *l.* 5.—*In festo sancti Petri.* "Die tunc sabbati." MS. Harl. 3775, IV.

P. 15, *l.* 11.—*Omne regnum.* Luc. cap. xi.

P. 16, *l.* 14.—*Se submittant.* "Constitutus est igitur rex Francorum Ludowicus multorum consilio arbiter in regem et proceres, ut ejus arbitrio tam rex quam barones immobiliter starent universi. Sed ipse duarum sororum reginarum Anglorum et Francorum favens precibus, prius sacramento firmata statuta cassavit, regis in omnibus parens voluntati, nullum ex omnibus articulis excipiendo."—MS. Cotton. Otho, D. VIII. fol. 217, v°, β. See the next note. The following extract is from Taxter's Chronicle, already mentioned :—

"Ignis succensus in furore cameram regiam, minorem aulam, capellam, et alias domos consumpsit apud Westmonasterium septem idus Februarii (1263). Orta est dissentio inter regem et barones, eoque rex consilio reginæ, et quorundam aliorum, et maxime alienigenarum, absolvi impetravit a domino papa ab observatione statutorum Oxoniæ et a sacramento. Unde missis prædonibus a baronibus per universam Angliam, omnia bona reginæ et consiliariorum regis, quorum instinctu dictam absolutionem impetravit, nullo habito respectu ordinis aut dignitatis, deprædabant. Nam episcopum Herefordensem ab ecclesia abstractum incarcerabant; episcopus Norwicensis, nisi ad Sancti Edmundi libertatem cicius confugisset præsidium, nusquam tutum sibi invenisset asilum. Tunc enim in conspectu baronum valde preciosa fuit libertas sancti Edmundi. Romanorum etiam bona ubicunque inventa ipsis ab Anglia expulsis diripiebant, et ecclesias eorum vel conferebant vel cui volebant tradebant, et similiter de alienigenis faciebant. Vigilia sancti Edmundi, fratres minores locum quam infra villam ejusdem sancti per intrusionem domini regis et contra libertatem dictæ ecclesiæ per v. annos mensibus vj. diebus xxiiij. ocupabant, relinquentes, dispositioni abbatis et conventus ejusdem loci absolute se subdiderunt; sed ad hoc faciendum inducti erant quadam litera papali a conventu sancti Edmundi impetrata, qui eos in virtute obedientiæ a dicto loco recedere præcipiebat. Unde, ne vi expellerentur, sponte discesserunt palam omni populo, contestantes se injuste locum prædictum possedisse. Ex mutuo assensu Henrici regis Angliæ et baronum, dictorum provisionum Oxoniæ posita est super arbitrium regis Franciæ."—MS. Cotton. Julius, A. I. fol. 41, r°.

The following correspondence, which is copied from the original documents preserved in the Archives du Royaume at Paris, relate to this subject.

1. *Letter from the King of England, consenting to the decision of the King of France.*

[Cart. Antiq. 630, num. 19.]

Universis presentes litt͛as inspectur̃ Henr̃ Dei . . . . rex Angł dñs Hibñ ⁊ dux Aquit̃ saɫtm. No͛itis q̃d nos compꝑmisimus in dñm Ludovicū regem Franc̃ illustrem supꝑ ꝓvisionibȝ ordinac͠oibȝ om̃ibȝ Oxoñ ⁊ supꝑ om̃ibȝ contenc̃oibȝ ⁊ discordiis quas habemus ⁊ habuimus usqȝ in preteritum diem sc̃e Lucie versꝰ Barones nr̃os

Angł. ⁊ ip̄i adversꝰ nos occ̄one ꝑvisionū ordinacionū v̄l statutoꝝ predc̄oꝝ firmiter promittentes juramento in anima nr̄a ꝑ dilc̄m ⁊ fidelem nr̄m Joħem de La Lynde militem prestito q̄d quicquid idem Rex Franc̄ suꝑ p̄missis om̄ibȝ v̄l eoꝝ aliquibȝ ordinav᷑it seu statu᷑it nos observabimus bona fide. Ita tamen q̄d dc̄s Rex Franc̄ dicat suꝑ hiis dc̄m suū citra Pentecosŧ ꝑximo venturam. Et suꝑ om̄ibȝ que suꝑ rebȝ in cōꝑmissum deductis v̄l circa ip̄as inᵗ͛im attemptari conti᷑git ordinandi ⁊ statuendi plenariam habeat potestatem. Noluimꝰ autem priori compꝑmisso in dc̄m dn̄m Regem de alto ⁊ basso inᵗ͛ nos ⁊ predc̄os Barones nr̄os fc̄o ꝑ compꝑmissum istud in aliquo derogari. Daŧ . . . Ambtoñ in crastino beati Vincentii Martiris anno Dn̄i M°. cc°. sexagesimo tercio.

2. *Letter from the Barons consenting to the decision of the King of France.*

[Cart. Antiq. 630, num. 20.]

Universis p̄sentes litᵗ͛as inspectuř. H. Londoñ. W. Wigorñ Ep̄i. S. de Monteforti com̄ Leyc̄ ⁊ señ Angł· Hug̃ le Despenš Justic̄ Angł. Hunfr̄ de Boun juvenꝭ. H. de Monte Forti. S. de Monte Forti juvenꝭ. Adā de Novo M᷑cato. Petrꝰ de Monte Forti. Rađ Basset de Sapecoŧ. Baldewiñ Wake. Roƀ de Ros. Wiłłs Le Blund. Wiłłs Marescałł. Walteř de Colevile. Ric̄ de Grey. Wiłł Bardouf. Ric̄ de Tanny. Henř de Hasting̃. Joħ fił Joħis. Roƀ de Veᵗ͛i Ponte. Joħ de Vescy. Nichoł de Segᵃ͂ve. Galfr̄ de Lucy sałm in Dn̄o. Nov᷑itis ꝗ nos compꝑmisimꝰ in dn̄m Ludovic̄ Regem Franc̄ illustrem suꝑ ꝑvisionibȝ ordinac̄onibȝ statutis ⁊ obligac̄oibȝ om̄ibȝ Oxoñ et suꝑ om̄ibus contenc̄onibȝ ⁊ discordiis qᵃ͂s ħemus ⁊ habuimꝰ usq; ad festū ōium sc̄oꝝ nuꝑ p̄ᵗ͛itū ꝯsus dn̄m nr̄m Regem Angł illustrem ⁊ ip̄e adꝯsus nos occasione ꝑvisionū ordinac̄onum statutoꝝ vel obligac̄onum Oxoñ predc̄oꝝ firmiᵗ͛ ꝑmittentes ⁊ jurantes tactis sacrosc̄is evᵃngeliisq; qⁱcquid idem Rex

Franc̃ suꝑ om̃ibȝ predc̃is vel eoꝝ aliquibȝ de alto ⁊ basso ordinav͛it v̾l statu͛it nos obs̾vabimꝰ bona fide. Ita t̃n q̧ idem dñs Rex Franc̃ dicat suꝑ hiis dc̃m suũ citᵃ Pentecost̃ ꝑxᵒ ventur̃. Dat̃ Londoñ die sc̃e Lucie virḡis anno dñi Mᵒ. ccᵒ. lxᵒ. t̾cio.

3. *Letter from the Barons to the King of France, appointing persons with full power to act as their delegates before his judgment.*

[Cart. Antiq. 630, num. 21.]

Univ͛sis p̃sentes lit̾as inspectur̃. H. Londoñ. W. Wygorñ Ep̃i S. de Monteforti com̃ Leyc̃. senescall̃ Angl̃. Hugo Le Despenß Justic̃ Angl̃. Humfridus de Bohun junior. Henr̃ de Monteforti. Simon de Monteforti junior. Adam de Novo M͛cato. Petrꝰ de Monteforti. Rad̃s Basset de Sapecote. Baldewinus Wake. Robertus de Roos. Will̃s Le Blund. Will̃s Marescallus. Walt̃s de Colevile. Ricardus de Grey. Will̃s Bardol̃f. Ricard̃ de Tany. Henr̃ de Hastinges. Joh̃es fil̃ Joh̃is. Rob̃tus de Vet̾i Ponte. Joh̃es de Vescy. Nich̃s de Segᵃve. ⁊ Galfr̃s de Lucy. salt̃m in Dño. Cum suꝑ ꝓvisionibȝ ordinac̃onibȝ statutis ⁊ obligac̃onibȝ om̃ibȝ Oxoñ ⁊ suꝑ om̃ibȝ cōtēc̃onibus ⁊ discordiis int̾ dñm nr̃m regē Angl̃ illustrē ⁊ nos occ̃one ꝓvisionũ ordinac̃onũ seu statutoꝝ hujꝰmodi s̾bortis in dñm Ludovicũ regē Fᵃncie illustrē s̾b certa forma cōꝑmisimus, quia ad ꝓsequēd̃ hujꝰmodi cōꝑmissi negotiũ aliis occupati ꝑsonalit̾ intēdere [nō] possumꝰ dominos Humfr̃dum de Bohun. Henr̃ de Monteforti. Petr̃ de Monteforti. Adam de Novo M͛cato. Will̃m le Marescall̃. Will̃m Le Blund. ⁊ magistros Thom̃ de Cantilupo, Galfr̃m de Cuberle ⁊ Henr̃ de Brancestoñ cl̃icos ꝑcuratores nr̃os facimꝰ ⁊ cōstituimꝰ ad faciend̃ petend̃ ⁊ recipiēd̃ ꝑ nob̃ nomīe nr̃o quicqͥd idem negotiũ requirit dantes eisdem plenā potestatē ⁊ mandatũ speciale obligandi nos om̃s ⁊ prestandi omnē securitatē qᵃm dc̃s dñs Rex Fᵃncie ordinare volu͛it q̃d nos dc̃m ip̃ius firmit̾ obs̾vabimus bona fide ⁊ om̃ia faciendi que si p̃sentes essemꝰ facere possemꝰ ⁊ deberemus. Damꝰ t͛ eisdem sp̃alem potestatē cōsentiendi ac cōveniendi nomīe nr̃o q̃d si postqᵃ̃m dc̃s dñs Rex ꝓtulerit dc̃m suū aliqᵃ ambigua v̄l obscura ex ꝟbis in dicto suo cōtētis em͛serint, idem dñs Rex ambigua hujꝰmodi in͛pretandi ⁊ obscura declarandi semel ⁊ pt̃ries usqꝫ ad festū om̃ium sc̃oꝝ plenam ħeat potestatē. Et ꝓmittimꝰ ratū ħre ⁊ firmū quicquid ꝑ eosdem ꝓcuratores ī p͛missis nomīe nr̃o actū fu͛it seu procuratū. Volumꝰ autē q̃d si p͛dc̃oꝝ aliqui casuꝛ aliquo p̃dc̃is exsequendis nō in͛fuerint quatuor v̄l qⁱnqꝫ ip̃soꝝ quos in͛esse cōtig͛it plenam in p̃missis om̃ibꝫ ħeant potestatē. Dat̃ Londoñ die Lune in vigił circumcisionis Dñi anno ejusdem M°. cc. lx° t͛cio. Et in testimoniū p̃missoꝝ nos Londoñ ⁊ Wygorñ Ep̃i Justic̃ Angł ⁊ Ricarđ de Grey p͛dc̃i de voluntate om̃ium p̃dc̃oꝝ ⁊ ip̃oꝝ mandato speciali p̃sentibꝫ sigilla nr̃a apposuimus.

P. 16, *l.* 24.—*Contra barones.* " Eodem igitur tempore, fraude mulieris, scilicet reginæ Angliæ, serpentina et allocutione deceptus et seductus idem rex Franciæ. Sicut scriptum est, *non est fraus super fraudem mulieris*, nam primum parentem, regem Salomonem, David prophetam, et alios mulier decepit. Mutatum est cor regis ejusdem de bono ad malum, de malo ad pejus, de pejori ad pessimum, ita regiis mandatis literatoriæ proceribus et magnatibus Angliæ scripsit in hæc verba," &c.—Chron. Tewkesbur. MS. Cotton. Cleop. A. VII. fol. 66, r°. I question whether Mahomet himself, with all his misogynic spirit, would have been more severe on the tender amazon. Cf. MS. Cotton. Otho, D. VIII. fol. 217, v°, β.

" O rex Francorum, multorum causa dolorum,
Judex non rectus, ideo fis jure rejectus,
Judicium verum reticens quam mulierum,
Voces audisti prece quarum dicta tulisti,
In Montem-Fortem sibi conjunctamque cohortem,
Non jus jurandum voluisti scire probandum.

Quod rex juravit retinere, sed hoc reprobavit
Consilio fratris electi Wyntoniensis,
Ejusdem patris, cito mortis quem tulit ensis,
Qui sibi donatum non videns pontificatum,
Parisius fortis subiit discrimina mortis."

P. 18, *l.* 9.—*Plange plorans.* This poem has been printed by Mr. Wright in his "Political Songs," p. 121—124.

P. 20, *l.* 22.—*Villam destruxit.* This was on the 2nd of the calends of March.—Chron. Wigorn. MS. Cotton. Calig. A.x. fol. 127, v°.

P. 23, *l.* 1.—*De captione.* The following extracts relate to this:—"Memorandum quod die quinta Aprilis anno Domini M.CC.LXIIII. cepit dominus H. rex villam Northamptoniæ, ubi capti erant extra castrum et incarcerati milites subscripti, scilicet, Simon de Monteforti junior, Ger. de Furnivalle, Will. de eadem, Ad. de Novo Mercato, Rogerus Bertram, Will. de Ferrariis, Henr. de Pembrigge, Will. Marescall, Symon fil. Symonis, Will. de Harecurte, Will. de Gyleford, Will. de Warre, Joannes Esturmey, Ric. de Culewrth, Radulfus Peroth, Ingram de Baylloll, G. Russel, senescallus Episcopi Lyncoln, G. de Lewkenorr, Ric. de Hemyngton, Rob. Butevilayn, Will. de Monteforti, Joh. de Dykelynge, Symon de Pateshyll, Will. de Wheltoun, Eustach. de Watteford, Phil. fil. Roberti, Eadmundus de Arderne, Robertus Maloree, Rogerus de Hyda, Andreas de Jarpenvilla, Rogerus de Hakelyngton, Will. de Preston, Hugo Gobyun, Reginaldus de Watervilla, Symon frater ejus, Hamon de Wycleston, Rogerus de Monteny, Will. Awngevyn, Radulphus de Dyva, Ph. de Daventre, Ric. Everard, Rad. de Wodekyme, Rogerus de Sancto Phileberto, Johannes de Rye, Will. de Lymare, Hugo de Tywe, Joh. de Bosevilla, Rad. de Brotton, Joh. de Bracebrige, et Phil. de Dryby. Item die sequenti redditum fuit castrum Northamptoniæ domino regi, ubi subscripti barones et milites capti fuerunt et incarcerati, scilicet, P. de Monteforti, P. filius ejus, Baldewynus Wake, Osbertus Giffard, Johannes de Habñ. Item Robertus fil. Petri de Monteforti, Johannes le Despensere, Johannes de Sancto Johanne, Nicholaus Wake, Johannes de Bathonia, Will. de Goldyngton, Henricus de Eyvilla, Will. de eadem, Johannes de Bayvilla, Thomas de Arcy, Eustach. de Solevilla, Robertus fil. Walteri, Rogerus de Wanton, Rogerus de Balune(?), Galfridus de la Mare. Item clerici, Ric. de Wyke, sen. Episcopi Lyncoln., Stephanus de Holewell (?); item Grimbaldus Pauncefot, serviens."—MS. Bodl. 91, Bern. 1891, fol. 138, v°.

" Rex vero Henricus iiij. secum illustres habens principes, Ricardum germanum suum regem Alemanniæ, ac filium suum Edwardum, Willelmum de Valenciis fratrum uterinum, clarissimosque milites, Johannem Comyn de Scocia cum multitudine Scottorum, Johannem de Balliolo dominum Galwadiæ, Robertum de Brews dominum de Vallis Anandiæ, Rogerum de Clifford, Philippum Basset, Rogerum de Mortuo Mari, cum exercitu progrediens villam de Northamtone obsedit, quam dominica in passione effracto muro intravit. Cepitque ibi milites vexilliferos quindecim, videlicet, Symonem minorem, Willelmum de Ferrariis, Petrum de Monteforti, Baldewynum Wake, Adam de Novo Mercatu, Rogerum Bertrandi, Symonem filium Symonys qui primo vexillum erexit contra regem Henricum, Berengarium de Watevyle, Hugonem Gybyoun, Thomam Maunsel, Rogerum Botevyleyn, Nicholaum Wake, Robertum de Newyntoun, Philippum de Driby, Grymbaldum Paunesfot. De quibus Symonem minorem ad castrum de Wyndelesor transmisit, cæteros ad alia tutamenta. Capti sunt et alii milites minoris gradus, circiter quadraginta; scutiferi non pauci."—MS. Hospit. Lincoln. Hale, 68 (73).

To the above list may be added Robert de Byngham, who was on the side of the barons.—MS. Cotton. Cart. Antiq. XI. 18.

P. 25, *l.* 2.—*Fere omnes.* The following account is given of this persecution in the Liber de Antiquis Legibus: " Hoc anno post festum

Sancti Martini vesperas, cum quidam Judeus vulnerasset quodam anelacio quendam Christianum in vico de Colechurch, accurrerunt multi Christiani, scilicet innumerabilis populus, ad Judeum persequendum, et fregerunt quamplurimos domos Judeorum; et de hoc non concepti postea nocte superveniente asportaverunt omnia bona dictorum Judeorum, et multo plures domos fregissent et bona asportavissent, cum Major et Vicecomites accedentes ibi cum armis illos malefactores amovissent, qua de causa facta est inquisitio in crastino, et sic de die in diem per Majorem et Vicecomites in Guilhald' per duodecim viros juratos, de quibus nulla fuit suspitio quantum ad istam feloniam, de singulis wardis London. Et postea universi Aldermanni fecerunt inquisitionem super hoc quilibet in Wardemoto suo, unde qui indictati fuerint vel accusati capti fuerunt per Vicecomites et imprisonati, partim in Newgate et partim in Creplegate." This is copied in MS. Hargrave, 142, fol. 30. "Judæi Londoniæ interfecti sunt per cives Londoniæ usque xlvij., qui fecerunt ignem Græcum ad comburendum civitatem."—Chron. Hagneb. MS. Cotton. Vespas. B. xi. fol. 24, v°. "Eodem anno in quadragesima Judæi capti sunt in Northamtonia et combusti, qui ordinaverunt inter se ignem Græcum[*] ad comburendum civitatem Londoniarum."—MS. Hospit. Lincoln. Hal. 68, (73.) "Occisi sunt Judæi manentes Londoniis ad numerum .B.cc et amplius, et reliqui spoliati sunt."—MS. Cotton. Vespas. A. ii. fol. 59, r°. The Worcester chronicle agrees with this last authority.—MS. Cotton. Calig. A. x. fol. 128, r°.

P. 25, l. 14.—De obsidione Roucestriæ. Cf. MS. Cotton. Otho, D. viii. fol. 214; MS. Lansd. 229, fol. 91, v°, β; Chron. Wigorn. MS. Cotton. Calig. A. x. fol. 128, v°. The following very curious account of this siege is interpolated in a copy of the chronicle of Matthew of Westminster in MS. Cotton. Nero, D. ii., which was written in the monastery at Rochester:

"Tempore illo Johannes comes Warenniæ venit cum domino R. de

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[*] Much discussion has arisen on the real composition of the Greek fire; a curious early receipt for making it is in MS. Arundel. 164, fol. 192, v°.

Leyburne et quibusdam aliis Rofam, ut civitatem et castrum munirent et custodirent. Comes vero Leycestriæ et barones qui erant Londoniæ et apud Tonebregge hoc audientes, venerunt cum multitudine gravi, et villam obsederunt et viriliter pugnaverunt; sed, parte adversa strenue resistente illa die, nil perfecerunt, exceptoque horrea sancti Andreæ et quasdam alias officinas combusserunt extra murum existentes, suburbio circumquaque et aula regia castri a domino R. de Leyburne primitus combustis. In crastino autem die, quo Dominus pro peccatoribus extitit crucifixus, Symon comes pontem et propugnacula superedificata mirabili artis ingenio fecit concremare; sicque post multas plagas stragesque suorum civitatem est ingressus, G. de Clara ex parte alia cum multitudine armatorum illam hostiliter inpugnante et prevalente, quasi uno momento et una hora, sicuti inter se conduxerunt. Circa horam vespertinam ingressi, tota civitas, et quicquid erat in ea, ut moris est, prædæ fiebat diripientium. Ecclesiam insuper beati Andreæ satellites diaboli, gladiis evaginatis introgressi, filios ipsius et quosque repertos in ea cum timore et honore crucifixerunt cum Domino qui patitur in suis electis, auro et argento aliisque preciosis inde violenter ablatis. Multa etiam, inter alia regum cartæ et munimenta alia ecclesiæ Roffensis, necessaria in capella prioris extiterunt deperdita ac dilacerata. Quidam etiam monachi ipsius ecclesiæ nocte illa custodiebantur incarcerati. Equites vero in equis armati circa altaria discursantes quosdam ad illa confugientes nefandis manibus extraxerunt. O luctuosa funestaque dies! in qua nobilis ecclesia Roffensis cum omnibus contentis in ea vilium hominum facta fuit prædatio, cum ipsi non plus honoris seu reverentiæ quam vilissimo prostibulo vel tugurio deferebatur. Portæ siquidem ejus circumquaque exustæ sunt, chorus ejus in luctum et organa ejus in vocem flentium sunt concitata. Quid plura? loca sacra, utpote oratoria, claustra, capitulum, infirmitorium, et oracula quæque divina stabula equorum sunt effecta, atque animalium inmunditiis spurcitiisque cadaverum ubique sunt repleta. Sabbato, hoc est in vigilia Paschæ, barones balliviam exteriorem castri ceperunt, comite Warenniæ cum suis infra turrim se recipiente. Obsessi itaque septem diebus strenue se defen-

debant, pluribus tamen intus quam extra vulneratis et interfectis. Septima autem die, hoc est die Sabbati sequenti, comes cum exercitu fugam petiit, audito Simone quod rex veniret ad succursum obsessorum. Rex itaque cum magno exercitu Canciam veniens, cito castrum Tonebregge obtinuit sine labore. Indeque maritima peragrans barones quinque portuum sibi subjugavit, recepta ab eis fidelitate cum obsidibus."—Fol. 173, r°, β.—v°, α.

P. 27, *l.* 26.—*Litera missa.* These letters have been frequently printed, but always without dates. The Barons' letter to the King, was sent from Fletching on May 12th, and the other two letters from Lewes on the same day: this appears from MS. Bib. Reg. 8 D. III. fol. 163, v°; MS. Bib. Reg. 5 F. XV. fol. 2, v°; MS. Cotton. Nero, A. IX. fol. 71, v°; MS. Cotton. Cleop. D. IX. fol. 54, r°; MS. Digby, 168; MS. Bib. Reg. 13 C. VI. fol. 63, r°, β. &c. The chronicle of Peter de Ickham, which so very frequently occurs in MS. anonymously, gives these letters with their dates. It may be as well to observe, that the ordinance which was confirmed by Henry for reforming the state of the realm by committing it to the care of three persons of the Barons' nomination, printed in Fœdera and there dated on the 23rd of June, is in MS. Bib. Reg. 8 D. III. fol. 164, v°, "datum Londoniæ die Mercurii in crastino Nativitatis Johannis Baptistæ," which last (the 25th of June) is probably correct.

P. 30, *l.* 1.—*Winton*, read *Wigorn.*

P. 32, *l.* 8.—*De miserabili conflictu.* "The town of Lewes, bounded on the east and west by high downs, has on the south a vast expanse of level meadow ground, which extends almost to the sea. In these meadows, and near the town, was this battle decided."—Tindal's History of Evesham, p. 286.—" Guerra statim secuta est per totam Angliam, regalibus in barones, baronibus in regales, miserabiliter sævientibus. Edwardus apud Gloverniam, cum se comprehendi comperit si dimicandum foret, prudenter obside dato pacem

promisit, sed obside ob curialitem sibi remisso, quod prius ceperat exequebatur. Rex Angliæ, cum rege Alemanniæ fratre suo, et Eduuardo primogenito suo, Noramtonam multo milite munitam cepit sabbato ante passionem Domini. Barones cum Londoniensibus Judaismum Londoniæ spoliaverunt, multis Judæis interfectis. Barones cum Londoniensibus milites arcem Rouecestriæ munientes, et sibi ad præliandum obviantes, turrim reintrare compulerunt, pluribus ex suis interemptis. Post multas et flebiles molestias hinc inde illatas, apud Lewes dicti duo reges cum baronibus bellum satis dure commiserunt ij. idus Maij, ubi barones victoriam optinuerunt. Regem Angliæ licet ceperunt, tamen non quasi captum set curialiter tanquam dominum custodierunt. Regem Alemanniæ captum duxerunt. Edwardus, pro suorum liberatione, obsidem se dedit. Omnes dictas provisiones Oxoniæ se fore observaturos juraverunt. Deinceps autem rex quo barones pergebant perexit, et quod faciendum decreverant diligenter et libenter faciebat. Edicto regis pax proclamata est per universam terram. Regina Angliæ in partibus transmarinis existens et audiens rem gestam sic, indoluit, conducensque exercitum infinitum Angliam invadere arbitrata est. Sed mare, littus, oraque marina per preceptum regis et baronum copioso exercitu Anglorum custodito transfretare adversarii formidabant, thesauroque reginæ consumpto, singuli ad propria non sine labore et rubore reversi sunt; quo audito, custodia marina cessavit. Memorandumque quod nisi mare sic custoditum fuisset, Anglia ab alienigenis capta fuisset. Memorandum etiam quod omnes burgi villæque campestres, et ecclesiasticæ personæ, taxati fuerunt ad inveniendum secundum suum posse ad custodiam marinam, et viros pugnatores et eis expensas sufficienter quamdiu ibi morabantur."—Chron. Taxteri, MS. Cotton. Julius, A. I. fol. 41, v°. The following is extracted from the curious chronicle of John de Oxenedes, which has never been printed:—" Anno gratiæ M°. cc°. lxiiij°., anno regni regis Henrici xlviij., die martis proxima post festum Sanctorum Nerei et Achillei, rex Henricus cum Edwardo filio suo, exercitu permaximo congregato, et die a rege prædicto statuto, convenit apud

Lewes, uterque exercitus, regis scilicet et baronum, quorum princeps dominus Symon de Monte-Forti extitit. Rex vero quamplurimos bene armatos extra villam juxta summitatem montis magni ad insidiandum domini Simonis de Monte-Forti et sui exercitus adventum, jussit constitui, ut si quemquam ex suis futurum perciperent, hoc eidem statim nunciarent. Qui secundum mandatum regis constituti fuerant, ac die Martis et noctis sequentis custodientes vigilias, cum nichil vidissent, gravati præ vigilia ad regem redierunt, qui etiam unum insidiatorem post se reliquerant. Illis autem recedentibus, Dei disponente gratia, qui relictus fuerat oculis sompnum dederat, capud suum reclinans super humum, domum non optinens præter quendam dumum. Hoc facto, supervenit dominus Symon cum exercitu suo, et in itinere insidiatorem prospiciens, ut caute caperetur illum, circumdari jussit undique, qui etiam expergefactus, et intuens exercitum, sciens se morti proximum, compulsus est misericordiam petere. Utrum optinuit non audeo asserere; verumptamen quod factum fuerat, et quare ibi latitaverat penitus enarrabat. Quo peracto, insidiatore jam reperto, processerunt omnes cum gaudio. Cumque accessissent ad montis decensum, qui est juxta Lewes, intuentes cenobii companarium, descendit dominus Simon de dextrario, et totus exercitus pariter descendebat cum eo; qui in spiritu humilitatis prædicabat populo, hoc dicens illis corde contrito et humiliato, " Fratres mei dilectissimi pares ac subditi, bellum hodie pro statu regni Angliæ ad honorem Dei et beatæ Mariæ, omniumque sanctorum, ac matris ecclesiæ, unaque pro fide nostra observanda sumus intraturi! Oremus Regem omnium, ut si sibi placuerit, quod jam inceperimus nobis præstet vigorem et auxilium, ut sibi gratam exhibeamus servitutem per militiæ cingulum, malitiam superantes inimicorum omnium. Sin autem sui sumus, corpus et animam sibi commendamus!" Peracta prædicationis suæ eloquentia, omnes proni ceciderunt in terram, ad modum crucis extenderunt brachia Dominum orantes, dicentesque hoc et alia: " Domine! da nobis desiderium nostrum ad honorem tui nominis cum summa victoria." Surgentibus illis ab oratione, tres cuneos vel acies constituit dominus Symon de sua familia, ut si quisquam ex suis de bello pro timore mortis recederet nullatenus per eos superstes remearet. Tunc illi descendentes ad prælium, sanctæ militiæ sumpserunt cingulum, mittentes quosdam ex nobilioribus ut villam de Lewes succendent, per circuitum unum veniendi ad bellum, domino regi ac suis per industriam reservantes exitum, ita ut aut igne consumentur, aut in aqua mergerentur, aut ad bellum licet inviti procederent festinanter. Denique, rege armato cum suo exercitu, tanta baronum percepta prudentia, cum moram diutius trahere non posset, exivit ad prælia. Vexilla regis prodeunt sequencia draconem; qui, quando in exercitu cernitur, signum necis est ad magnam ultionem. "O dolor draconis! emuli sic estimati sunt ut oves ad occisionem! Filii et filiæ regalis exercitus, ululate et clamate, quia matres vestræ factæ sunt quasi viduæ desolatæ!" Convenientibus et illis, auditus est clamor miserabilis cum summa tristitia, et in ictibus baronum patuit quod vita hominis super terram gramen! Fidelis militia, quia evaginant gladios, capitibus laqueantes galeas, loricas penetrant, frangentes lanceas. Super tali militia dabitur eloquendi materia non solum in Anglia, sed in omni provincia. Illis et præliantibus occumbunt corpora multorum baronum, militum, armigerorum et peditum. Corda fuderunt sanguinem ex parte baronum sunt beati, qui cum crucesignatis jubilant in gloria justorum, quod pugnabant pro patria, locum bellandi eligentes recentem "qui merito vocatur Acheldemach, id est, ager sanguinis, usque præsentem diem." Gladius regis et ejus exercitus eversus est, nec ei in bello est auxiliator, quia a baronibus captus est cum fratre suo Ricardo rege Alemanniæ, filio suo domino Ædwardo, et pluribus aliis partem ejus foventibus, et custodiæ domini Symonis de Monte Forti mancipatus. Illo tempore baronibus illuxerat dies sanctificatus, ibi quicunque fugerat, Anglicus est caudatus, plenus versutiis, fallax et instabilis, et examinatus. Illo die sunt prostrata de utroque exercitu multorum corpora, spiritum cum gemitu miserabili exalantia, magna multitudo a nobis incognita. Deinceps autem rex, quo barones pergebant, porrexit, et quod faciendum decreverant, diligenter et libenter faciebat.* In primo prædicti belli inpetu, cum dominus Ædwardus, regis primogenitus, videret Londonienses in armis domini Simonis de Monte-forti, quos odio habuerat cum magno animi furore, relicto inter hostium manus rege patre suo cum paucis comitibus, fugientes a prælio, secundum quod prædocti fuerant a domino Symone, acriter persecutus est. Interim rex cum suis complicibus a baronibus capitur, et custodiæ mancipatur. Fugatis igitur Londoniensibus, cum dominus Ædwardus, fessus ac fatigatus, ad exercitum rediret, comprehensus est. Comes vero Warenniæ et dominus Hugo Bigod, a bello fugientes, cum pluribus nobilium, mare transierunt. Postea dederunt obsides dominus rex filium suum Ædwardum, et rex Alemanniæ filium suum Henricum, qui remanserunt cum pluribus aliis in custodia domini Symonis per annum et amplius.

Causa hujus belli hæc fuit. Mortuo rege Johanne, Isabella regina, uxor regis Johannis et mater Henrici regis Angliæ, nupsit Hugoni le Brun comiti de Marchia inter Franciam et Pictaviam; quæ peperit ei quinque filios, quorum nomina sunt hæc,—scilicet, primogenitus Willelmus de Valence, Guido et Galfridus [de Lyseni habentes cognomen a loco nativitatis, sicuti reges Angliæ consueverunt (nam Henricus rex vocabatur Henricus de Wyncestria, id est Wintonia, Wilcestria, id est, Wigornia.) Post prædictos, Ysabella regina peperit Hugonem le Brun, cognomen habens a patre, et juniorem omnium Aymerum, episcopum Wyntoniæ. Hos fratres suos uterinos dilexit rex Angliæ Henricus ultra modum, præbens eis possessiones, redditus et terras, aurum et argentum, et quicquid ab Angligenis posset quoquomodo auferre. Unde naturales homines, quasi exhæredati, et magnates Angliæ, valde condoluerunt; tantæ enim auctoritatis erant et potestatis, ut nullus Anglicus aliquod jus habere aut breve contra eos adquirere posset. Et non solum propriis parentibus donaria plurima tribuit, seipsum depauperando, verum etiam reginæ uxoris suæ parentes amotis Angligenis in Angliam subrogavit. Cumque hoc diu agerentur, rogaverunt multis precibus Anglici dominum Symonem de Monte-Forti, comitem Leycestriæ, qui sororem regis desponsaverat, ut eis consilium et auxilium præstaret in consulendo regi, ne thesauros suos incaute expenderet, alienigenas ab Anglia fugaret, naturales homines Angliæ diligeret, consuetudines malas auferret ac extirparet, libertates et jura antiqua concederet. Quorum precibus victus dominus Symon, quamvis multum reniteret, tandem tamen crebris eorum petitionibus assensum præbuit, asserens in Angligenis non esse constantiam, ac morem fore Anglorum cum inducerent aliquod in breccam hunc dimittendo facerent caudam. Habito igitur parliamento Oxoniis, rege ibi existente cum suis consiliariis, comitum et baronum non minima multitudine, statuta a proceribus Angliæ provisa in medio sunt prolata, et a rege fratribusque ejus, filiis, et omnibus Angliæ magnatibus irrefragabiliter servatura sunt concessa, et in scriptis redacta, ac a rege et omnibus aliis sigillis roborata. Et sic universi redierunt ad propria. Postea penituit regem, suggestione reginæ et parentum suorum seu alienigenarum, illud juramentum fecisse, dicentium illum regem non esse qui pro voluntate non posset servos habere. Statutum erat Oxoniæ quod regnum Angliæ de terra propria gubernatores haberet. Ea propter donariis missis prædictus rex a domino Papa a prædicto juramento se petiit absolvi; qui absolvens eum, statuta prohibuit Oxoniæ provisa.* Tunc ceperunt flectere magnates totius Angliæ. Cernens hoc, dominus Symon de Monte-forti transfretavit in Franciam, et mansit in hæreditatem suam. Rex vero abstulit quæ erant Anglorum, præbens ea more solito alienigenis. Angliæ igitur magnates valde contristati, miserunt pro domino Symone de Muntfort, rogantes eum multis precibus eis venire in auxilium. Qui, victus iterum eorum precibus, venit in Angliam, dicens se esse cruce signatum, et tam libenter velle mori inter malos Christianos, pugnando pro libertate terræ et sanctæ ecclesiæ, quam inter Paganos. Accesserunt igitur ad regem barones Angliæ, rogantes eum tenere statuta Oxoniæ; qui respondens se absolutum esse a juramento, filios, ac fratres, et omnes amicos suos absolutos, et statuta Oxoniæ se nequaquam servaturum, quæ a domino Papa fuerant prohibita, ac omnes ea tenentes fore excommunicatos affirmabat. Magnates in incepto proposito constanter persistentes, statuto die amoris a rege, interrogavit eos idem rex, si vellent ponere se in judicio regis Franciæ. Illis annuentibus, rex Franciæ, accepta pecunia a rege Anglorum corruptus, judicavit omnia statuta Oxoniæ provisa cassari. Vero Simon de Muntfort et alii magnates Angliæ, congregati apud Wintoniam, providerunt et scripserunt eadem statuta quæ providerantur Oxoniæ, constanter postulantes a rege ea servari. Tunc rex, ultra modum-iratus, diffidavit eos. Illi hoc audientes reddiderunt regi homagia sua, et ex illa die incepit guerra per totam Angliam inter regem et barones.* In illis diebus, plurimi nobiles ad Sancti Ædmundi libertatis præsidium confugerunt; tunc enim in conspectu baronum valde preciosa fuit libertas Sancti Ædmundi."—MS. Cotton. Nero, D. II. fol. 229, v°, γ, δ,—230, r° α, β.

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* The battle of Lewes was necessarily a source of great rejoicing to the adherents of Leicester, and of as much regret to the royalists. Capgrave, in his interesting little volume "de laudibus Henricorum," says—"Taceo hic de multis infestationibus baronum erga dictum regem, et specialiter de bello apud Lews."—MS. Cotton. Tiberius, A. VIII. fol. 51, r°; and MS. C.C.C.C. No. 408. "Comes vero Leycestriæ, potitus victoria, regem Angliæ circumduxit sibi et suis emolumentis, et regi tantum nomen reservans."—Chronicon Stephani Birchington, MS. Harl. 4231, (5,) fol. 21, r°.

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* "Consilio Edwardi primogeniti sui et Ricardi fratris sui comitis Cornubiæ, misit ad curiam Romanam ut a voto illo absolveretur."—Chron. Bermond. MS. Harl. 231, fol. 40, r°.

The battle of Lewes, as all authorities agree,† was fought on

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* It was not the Barons alone who complained of Henry's waywardness. The Pope complained sadly of him—" partem Comitis et Baronum tenuistis approbando, laudando, commendando facta ipsorum et negotia quæ gerebant de regimine regni et curia regis. Et hoc est notorium et publicum."—MS. Cotton. Tiberius, A. IX. fol. 39, r°, β.

† Cf. MS. Chron. tr. ex codice Barb. in Bibl. Vat. tom. iii. p. 133; Chron. Hagneb. MS. Cotton. Vespas. B. XI. fol. 24, v°; MS. Harl. 4690, fol. 50, v°, α; MS. Harl. 6359; MS. Chron. Barthol. de Coton; Wright's Political Songs, p. 72, &c.

Wednesday, the 14th of May, 1264. I may also remark in this place, that the windmill in which Richard, King of the Romans, took refuge after the battle, is particularly mentioned in MS. Addit. 5444,[*] fol. 68, v°, and that some one (apparently about the year 1700) has written against the word *molendinum*, "call'd King Harry's mill to this day."

P. 32, *l.* 19.—*Quatuor circiter milia.* The Abingdon chronicle (MS. Oxon. fol. 367, v°, *a.*) says two or three miles, but most chroniclers agree with Rishanger. Cf. MS. Arundel. Coll. Arm. 1, fol. 122, v°, *a.* "Postea, in festo sancti Johannis ante portam Latinam, exierunt barones et Londonienses a civitate adversus dominum regem,[†] tunc existentem in partibus de Liewes cum maximo exercitu." —Liber de Antiquis Legibus, fol. 89, r°, *a.* The same authority does not ascribe Edward's pursuit of the citizens to revenge, but merely adds,—"in primo conflictu, major pars Londoniarum peditum et equitum, et quidam milites et barones, posuerunt se in fugam versus Londoniam."—fol. 89, r°, *a.* According to the Worcester chronicle, the Londoners were not well disciplined,—"cives vero Londoniarum ad bella verbis expediti, non tamen in arte bellica periti."—MS. Cotton. Calig. A. x. fol. 129, r°. According to the last quoted authority, "videns autem Edwardus primogenitus regis cives Londoniæ cum magno apparatu ad bellum venisse cum magna turba militiæ, in eos irruit, et quamplurimos ex eis occidit." Some say that the Londoners were sixty thousand in number.—Chron. d'Angleterre, MS. Bib. Reg. 20 A. XVIII. fol. 280, r°. I do not think it is very likely that Edward, as some writers affirm, pursued the fugitives as far as Croydon, a distance of forty miles, when it is known for certain that he returned to the field of battle on the same day;

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[*] This is a transcript from MS. Cotton. Otho, B. III. which was nearly destroyed in the fire of 1731. It contains a curious chronicle, written in London, and in the earlier part abridged from Matthew of Westminster.

[†] The King came to Lewes on Sunday the 11th of May.—MS. Bib. Reg. 13 C. VI. fol. 63, r°. *β.*

although perhaps some of the citizens may have taken refuge at that place. Rishanger applies the proverb,—

"Bellat prudenter, qui bella fugit sapienter,"

to the flying Londoners.—MS. Cotton. Claud. D. VI. fol. 118, r°, β.

P. 33, *l.* 1.—*Conominibus,* in MS. *ornaminibus.*

—— *l.* 17.—*Comes Arundel,* in MS. *comitis.*

P. 34, *l.* 3.—*Ad quinque milia.* Very varied are the accounts of the numbers slain in this battle; but perhaps the following selection from inedited MSS. may serve to assist a conjecture at the probable amount. According to the Worcester chronicle (MS. Cotton. Calig. A. x. fol. 129, r°) the King's army before the battle consisted of sixty thousand men, and the barons "cum civibus Londoniæ" of forty thousand. "Die illo quatuor milia quingenti quatuordecim homines occisi sunt, et multi vulnerati evaserunt; Londonienses vero pro timore fugerunt, quos dominus Edwardus cum vexillariis viriliter persequebatur, non modicum ex eis numerum occidendo."—MS. Cotton. Cleop. A. I. fol. 188, v°, β. "In quo bello cæsa sunt plusquam tria milia hominum."—MS. Cotton. Cleop. B. IV. fol. 94. "Tamen cecidit ex eis non minima multitudo, et maxime ex Londoniis."—MS. Cotton. Cleop. D. IX. fol. 79, v°. "In ipso enim bello fuerunt occisi duo milia et lxx., exceptis hiis qui occisi fuerunt versus Londoniam, quos dominus Edwardus persequebatur."—MS. Cotton. Cleop. D. IX. fol. 55, v°, β. "Numerus vero occisorum in eodem bello, secundum testimonium virorum religiosorum corpora eorum sæpelientium, sexcenti; plurimi vero fugiendo interfecti; alii autem in aquis submersi fuerunt; multi etiam vivi fugerunt."—Chronicon Petri de Ickham, MS. Bib. Reg. 13 C. VI. fol. 63, v°, α; MS. Cotton. Nero, A. IX. fol. 72, r°; MS. Digb. 168, &c. "Fertur quod in eodem bello occisi sunt ex utraque parte quatuor milia quingenti xiiij. homines, et multi vulnerati evaserunt."—MS. Digb. Oxon. 11, fol. 186, r°. "Quidam vulnerati, quidam in aqua submersi, quidam interfecti, hinc inde usque ad quinque milia hominum; quidam in fugam se dederunt, et quidam ad bellum exire noluerunt, sed doliterunt infra abbatiam usque ad numerum D."—Chron. Winton. MS. Cotton. Domitian. VIII. fol. 56, r°. "Ceciderunt ut dicitur eodem die ibidem ex utraque parte duo milia septuaginta viri per manus sepelientium numerati, exceptis submersis, et exceptis ibidem vulneratis, et exceptis hiis qui per viam versus Londoniam fugerunt pro timore."—Chronicon Wigorn. MS. Cotton. Calig. A. x. fol. 129, v°. "Item memorandum quod die Mercurii, scilicet xiiij. die Maii anno prædicto, factus fuit conflictus apud Lewes inter dominum regem et barones, ubi dominus rex Angliæ reddidit se comiti Leycestriæ; ubi rex Alemanniæ, dominus Edwardus, et alii plures capti erant, alii quamplures vulnerati, et alii in aqua submersi, et alii, ut firmiter creditur, usque ad quinque milia hominum interfecti."—MS. Bodl. 91, Bern. 1891, fol. 138, v°. "In quo bello cæsa sunt plusquam tria milia hominum."—Chron. Sarisbur. MS. Cotton. Cleop. B. IV. fol. 94, r°. "Ex utraque parte dicuntur ad quinque milia cecidisse." —MS. Cotton. Faustina, B. IX. fol. 82, v°. "Super Londonienses fertur circa quinque milia hominum in hoc flebili et infelici conflictu occubuisse ex utraque parte."—Chron. Eveshamiæ, MS. Oxon. Laud. 529, Bern. 1510, fol. 61, v°. Perhaps, however, all our endeavours at finding out the real truth will prove futile, and Peter Langtoft speaks the nearest approach to it when he says that

"The numbre non wrote, for tell tham mot no man,
Bot He that alle wote, and alle thing ses and can."

See also MS. Cotton. Julius, B. III. fol. 404, r°; MS. Cotton. Tiberius, A. VI. fol. 173, v°; MS. Harl. 229, fol. 44, r°; MS. Cotton. Claud. A. v. fol. 35, v°, β; MS. Lambeth, 306, fol. 12, r°; MS. Harl. 3601, fol. 20, v°, &c. According to the Evesham Chronicle (MS. Laud. 529, Bern. 1510, fol. 61, v°.) king Henry had a swift and favourite horse killed beneath him during the engagement.

P. 34, *l.* 16.—*Nocte vero sequenti.* "In crastino igitur, prædicatoribus et minoribus inter eos discurrentibus, sic actum est, &c."—MS. Hale, 68, (73.)

P. 35, *l.* 1. Here the MS. has been transposed, as explained in the Preface, p. xxv.

—— *l.* 2.—*Orta fuit discordia.* "Gilbertus de Clare comes Gloverniæ et alii plures cum eo recesserunt a comite Leycestriæ ob varias causas; et maxime quod post bellum Lewense, partitio castrorum et possessionum non fuit inter eos recte divisa, ut aiebant, secundum quantitatem sumptuum et laborum."—Chronicon Taxteri, MS. Cotton. Julius, A. I.

——*l.* 14.—*Eodem tempore.* Cf. Chron. Godstovianum, p. 223. Peter Langtoft says—

> "The erle of Warenne, I wote, he scaped over the se,
> And Sir Hugh Bigote als with the erle fled he."

P. 36, *l.* 24, the word here left blank appears in the MS. thus: míārū.

P. 40, *l.* 4.—*Domicilia construerent.* In MS. *domiciliis construessent.*

—— *l.* 6.—*Laxis crudelitatis habenis, misere, &c.* In MS. *laxis crudelitas habens m'ie.*

P. 41, *l.* 11.—*Abüt ad Wodestok.* In MS. *adüt de Wodestok.*

P. 41, *l.* 22.—*A custodia comitis.* A good account of Edward's flight is given in MS. Hale, 68, (73.) Cf. MS. Bib. Reg. 20 A. XVIII. fol. 280, r°; MS. Cotton. Galba, E. VII. fol. 170, v°, β; MS. Cotton. Cleop. D. II.; MS. Cotton. Nero, D. x. fol. 201, r°. "Edwardus igitur, excogitato die noctuque evadendi ingenio, tandem ad hoc pervenit. Erant enim in eodem castro tres dextrarii nobiles, et magnæ virtutis equi, quos vix aliquis ibidem ausus est experiri. Petente tandem Edwardo ut eos aliquantulum experiri posset, concessum est ei. Qui unum ascendens reduxit ita lassum quod vix pedibus potuit subsistere, et sic de altero hoc idem perfecit; tertium aliis nobiliorem, permit-

tentibus custodibus, postremo conscendit. Sciens plane quod nullus eum subsequeretur, fluvium Sabrinæ transnatavit, et sic ad comitem Glovernia pervenit."—Chron. de Selgrave, MS. Cotton. Cleop. A. XII. fol. 43, r°, β.—v°, α.

P. 44, *l.* 15.—*Pervenerent apud Kenilworthe.* Cf. MS. Lansd. 229, fol. 71, r°, β.

P. 47, *l.* 14.—*Cruentissimam.** Robert of Gloucester says—

> "Suich was the morthre of Eivesham, vor bataile non it vas."

But this unhappily was not the conclusion of the evils which the people had to suffer. The following very curious political poem, which is taken from MS. Cotton. Otho, D. VIII. fol. 219, r°, β, has not previously been printed:—

"Illos salvavit Mons Fortis quos superavit;
Carceribus dati sunt multi, non cruciati.
Militiæ flores Anglorum nobiliores
Anglos rexere, qui mortem post subiere,
Ut sum daturus nece qua sit Mons periturus.
Ecclesiæ festa Leus hæc dant tempora mœsta,
Quo bellum primum multis fecit caput imum;
Annus et Henrici regis quo sunt inimici,
Græcus si detur e. longa mihi semper habetur,
Ecclesiæ festa Leus hæc dant tempora mœsta,
Quo bellum primum multis fecit caput imum,
Bella dabat quæ lis, Leus est vocitata fidelis,
In qua distortum fuerat nil primitus ortum.
Excipitur sanguis quem fuderat impius anguis;
Anglia plaudebat, dum Mons hanc sorte regebat.

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* "Dunc nageres apres en la secunde none de Aust, ke est l'endemein de l'invenciun de seint Estephene, la bataile se prist à Evesham, où occis estoit le dist cunte de Leicestre Simun, sire Henri sun fiz, et sire Hughe le Despenser chief justice d'Engleterre, et plusurs autres à chival et à pié tresgraunt numbre. E pur lure verité et la pés de la tere tuz morirent, les miracles ke ilukes surviegnent apertement bien çeo tesmoignent."—Chron. Eccles. Christi Cantuar. MS. Harl. 636, fol. 216, r°, β.

Morti Monte dato, diro ruit Anglia fato;
Simonis huic nomen magnum sibi contulit omen,
Miles præclarus, armis super omnia gnarus,
Quem gens Gallorum produxit, dux fit eorum,
Quam desponsavit germanam regis amavit,
Anglorum gentis regem per cuncta verentis.
Hic fuit Anglorum dux, et protector eorum;
Namque duos reges cupientes vertere leges
Anglorum vicit, prius ut gens singula dicit.
Hiis nimium parcens quorum mala non fuit arcens,
Ejus et adjutor comes et fuit undique tutor,
De Clare Gilebertus, stabilis non inde repertus,
Inter quos mira cito postea ferbuit ira,
Mittitur ut flamen quo viret tempore gramen,
Rege coronato diademate quo decorato,
Inter eos crevit furor, et discordia sævit.
Nam bello captum diade..........
Fautor dum crescit hominum concordia[cessit,]
Quod mox expressit Gilebertus ab inde[recessit,]
Edwardo mandat ut ei per singula [pandat]
Velle suum certe, socius sibi fiet a[perte,]
Ut confundantur barones seu perim[antur,]
Per quos tentus erat ad quod nil se .....
Custodes vicet, ut eosdem pactio dicet,
Consilioque pari sibi possint consi[liari.]
Fugerat Edwardus custodes ut le[opardus,]
Ut placuit propere comitis mandata [referre.]
Qui fuerant vivi, vivi Leus a be[llo .....]
Hii demandantur et eis cito consol[idantur;]
Simonis ad villam veniunt, prædantur et illam,
Mannos dum rapiunt audaces robore fiunt;
Armis nudati barones sunt superati,
Quique remansere vitas vix optinuere.

Jure canum villa Keynworth vocatur et illa.
Sunt bona nulla data, quia gens ibi fit spoliata,
Ensem vibravit Gilebertus, vulnere stravit
Sed Holwellensem, qui contra non tulit ensem;
Consiliis aptus est hinc sine crimine captus.
Forsan si quæris quantum vixit, tria teris,
Sexta fit et nona qua sumpsit cœlica bona,
Spiritus in cœlis ejus prece sit Michaelis,
Sic sic traduntur qui non in pace reguntur.
Nam pax nulla datur ubi concio sic separatur.
Secum duxerunt homines ibi quos rapuerunt,
Ad Warewiche veniunt proceres, post inde recedunt,
Armis ditati properant ad bella parati,
Ut sic Mons Fortis subeat discrimina mortis.
Mars donat mortem, necat hunc dum forte cohortem,
Fortes prostrati, nec sunt heu sic superati!
Militiæ flores vitas capiunt meliores,
Martirio freti florent super æthera læti,
O mors quam dira, quod nulli parcit in ira,
Nam ruit ense pater, natus, nati quoque frater,
Ex ipsis funus tamen haud tunc pertulit unus,
Multi sunt dempti qui sunt pro pace perempti;
Nec pax ulla datur, melior pars dum superatur,
Anglia terra teres, dic cur gemis et modo mœres.
. . . . mortem quem vix cono dicere fortem.
Nam caput Anglorum fuit et conquestor eorum,
In pugna prima, cujus manent nimis ima.
[. . .]ius et Henricus Anglorum natus amicus,
. . . m ruit ense gravi, mors illum depulit a vi.
[Hugo] Dispensator ruit illic pacis amator,
[Omni]bus Anglorum dabitur pax sanguine quorum,
. . . . sanguinea nece concorruit ampla chorea,
. . . . que multorum fusum fuit ema virorum.

[No]bis et vere duo bis sibi lustra fuere,
. . . . us vixit mihi gens ut plurima dixit.
. . . . hiis propere jungas tibi si placuere,
[Qui] nunquam rore proprio maduere cruore;
. . . . . . ore patriæ pro pacis amore.
[Despiciunt l]eges, multos faciunt sibi reges.
. . . . . . fatur quod sit raptum rapiatur,
. . . . . . letu quid in hoc contingere cœtu,
. . . . . . iebant, qui m'iorem capiebant,
[Illo con]flictu Simon ruit ensis et ictu,
[Et caput] abscisum, summo petiit paradisum.
. . . . Domini dum singula vestis,
Ex ipso rapitur qui nudus ibi reperitur.
Truncat et inde manus quidam miser atque prophanus,
Atque pedes, Christo duce mundo fertur ab isto,
Ut multi referunt comitis pudibunda tulerunt,
Membraque sperserunt agris, post hoc abierunt.
Sic sic trunctatus sit omnino spoliatus,
Et sic castratus summos patitur cruciatus.
Framea lictoris fuit Anglis causa doloris.
Cur? quia pellexit comitem rex quem male rexit.
Cœlum signa dabat, quoniam sol non radiabat,
Et motum terræ dedit hora ferissima guerræ.
Dum sic bellatur, Domini gens dum cruciatur,
Tunc pluit et tonuit, imbres dedit ætheris ira,
Ingens grando fuit, quo possis dicere mira;
Rumphea cum lite tulit illi gaudia vitæ,
Nam nece condignis parcens fuit ille malignis.
Anglis prodesset, licet hoc silicernius esset,
Cujus et in morte misera ruit Anglia forte,
Justiciis plena fuit Anglica terra serena,
Non tibi sint frustra totum bis .l. et duo lustra,
Ac unum restat qui se Christus manifestat,
Carnis habens spolia de virgine sumpta Maria.

Si Græce loqueris, si tempora bellica quæris,
Tu .pi. bis pone, sima .xj., sed et c. venietur,
Annum compone belli qui sic tibi detur:
Imera si ponas Augusti pridie nonas,
Quo bello fortes Hevesham cecidere cohortes,
Qui sic prostrati superant dum sunt superati.
Hæc domus est Evæ, contra gens ruit inclita sæve,
Nam male traduntur, misera nece dum feriuntur.

Post Evesham bellum scelus excercere novellum,
Quidam cæperunt, qui ceci mente fuerunt,
Mandat Clarensis Gilebertus, acutus ut ensis,
Servis ut propere faciant fera tempora guerræ,
Terras ut lustrent, dominos quibus hii cito frustrent,
Semper abutuntur qui pessima jussa sequuntur.
Divino more proprio Deus hoc tulit ore,
Ne quis mendicum nec quisquam fallat amicum,
Tractet per vicum male quisquam non inimicum,
Ne sit et incestus quo quis sit jure scelestus.
Christi mandata postponit gens scelerata,
Nam spoliat villas . . . . spoliabitur illas.
Unde Berengarius Ramesenses exspoliavit,
Quique fide varius manes sibi jure paravit.
Non tenet ille fidem, dominos spolians eques idem;
Hic eques extiterat quem nutrivit Rameseya,
Qui mala multa fecit, det Christus et alma Maria,
Ut pascat torvos donet Deus in cruce corvos,
Et similes ejus subeant per tempora pejus.
Ut nequeant cerni, flammis urantur Averni,
Ni reddant rapta, ni restituant male capta,
Agnus, ovis, vitulus, gallus, gallina, vel auca,
Bos, equus, ac aries, porcorum copia pauca,
Quæque remanserunt miseris cibus ipsa fuerunt.
Hiis tanquam dignis sit sulphur potus et ignis,

Nulla referta bonis est villula religionis,
Quam non prædentur miseri, qua non dominentur.
Multas jacturas subeunt pro tempore duras
Hos per prædones sacratæ religiones.
Pauca relativa fuerant animalia viva,
Sunt ablativa, quia non sunt ulla dativa:
Actio passiva, mœroris erat genitiva.
Hæccine gens atra villis abduxit aratra;
Incultæ terræ jacuerunt tempore guerræ,
Horrea triturant, mala tempora dummodo durant.
Pacem firmare volunt rex quam reprobare.
Gens ea præsumpsit, gens effera, gens mala cum sit,
Regia mandata postponit gens scelerata;
Nam contra jura rapit omnia gens peritura.
Dilecti parum sunt cives Londoniarum;
Exhæredantur multi villaque fugantur;
Nam contra morem dominæ fecere pudorem,
Exulat unde cito nato ductore petito,
Semper et exosi reginæ suntque dolosi;
Oderat hos pejus Edwardus filius ejus.
Urbi pax detur a Christo, ne superetur.
Si tamen hoc mores veteres faciat meliores,
Anglica terra ferax, in qua gens plurima verax,*
Nunc fremit atque gemit, ut singula gaudia demit,
Nescia venturi cujus sit subdita juri,
Sub quo custode, sub Christo vel sub Herode,
Sub custode bono, sub solo sive patrono.
An plures reges plures facient sibi leges,
Ut sit destructa lex Anglica, vel male ducta.
Absit ut hoc detur, lex Anglica quod reprobetur!

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* This is a quotation from the well known verses *de Anglia* which occur in the Polichronicon, p. 193.

O pie servorum Jhesu miserere tuorum,
Ut pax ecclesiæ prece detur firma Mariæ;
Christe regens terram, nostram cito destrue guerram;
Nam sunt exosi cunctis fere relligiosi;
Hos affligendo vel eorum jura tenendo,
Tu cito da pacem, tu destrue quemque rapacem,
Comprime versutos, nos fac hoc tempore tutos,
Et malefactores humiles fac et meliores.
Sis memor illorum, qui scandis ad astra polorum,
Pro quibus e cœlis veniens verbo Gabrielis,
Nobis sis ægis qui semper in æthere degis,
Ne male fallatur tua gens seu destituatur,
Donis sanctorum qui possidet atque virorum.
Pro dolor heu! equites discindunt sanguine lites;
Qui quærunt pacem per terram sæpe feracem.
Non est inventus præsul qui crimine tentus
Non sit, vel funus capiens ex patribus unus,
Post Thomam vere qui pacem quærat habere
Qui domet immites effuso sanguine lites.

O Pater de clivo populo Deus obsecro vivo
Succurras vere, quia multi jam periere.
Exhæredati proceres sunt rege jubente,
Et male tractati Waleran R. dicta ferente.
Exhæredati si fiant connumerati,
Millia cum binis deca bis sunt acta ruinis,
Tunc extorqueri gazas gens nescia veri
Jussit, et ut terra nusquam maneat sine guerra.
Religio certe, quæ non deliquit aperte,
Gente feroce satis mala pertulit inprobitatis;
Vasta sit ut terra mox oritur altera guerra,
Incendunt villas iterato pir volat illas,
Ac inimicorum male tractant tecta suorum.
Exhæredati, qui sint per sæcla beati,
Hoc mala fecerunt, jacturas nam subierunt,

Dum gens jejunat, socios sibi quisquis adunat,
Ut confundatur pars regia seu perimatur.
Non parcunt vitæ dum quis fert, "Ite, redite,
Nulli parcatis, inimicos quin perimatis."
Est populus certus, nimis est quod fiscus apertus,
Regis nam velle dedit Anglos sæpe procellæ.
Ecclesiam nescit de qua rex sponte recessit,
Consilio nati semper bellare parati.
Cætibus hiis claris, o rex, cur sic operaris?
Cur tantas gentes non excipiendo parentes
Exhæredasti, mala quo tibi sponte parasti?
Ni tibi sit cura, pereas post pascha futura,
Mavult namque mori gens ut subdatur honori,
Quam se mœrori dare vel vivendo dolori.
Heu dolor est fari! cur debet rex reprobari?
Nam spoliatorum bona post destructa s[uorum.]"

* * * *

(*Unfinished.*)

P. 47, *l. ult. dimissa lætitia.* In MS. *dimissio letieie.*

P. 48, *l.* 22, *devotis præsentatur.* In MS. *denotata p'senta.*

P. 54, *l. penult.* The word here left blank appears in the MS. like hūitīu.

P. 58, *l.* 9.—*Insulam de Ely.* The following very curious particulars are taken from the cartulary of the monastery at Barnwell near Cambridge, which is now preserved in the British Museum:—

"In tempore illo orta est dissentio magna inter Henricum regem et barones suos. Symon vero de Monte-forti, comes Leycestriæ, collegit ad partem suam contra regem multos et potentes, et inceperunt ex utraque parte depredari villas et maneria plurium depopulare, captivos multos tenere et inprisonare, plures interficere, et multa mala in diversis partibus Angliæ facere. Qua propter episcopus Elyensis, ex precepto regis, fecit insulam custodire, barreras per diversas partes insulæ construere, et eas die ac nocte cum manu armata custodire. Barones vero scientes insulam bene munitam et refugium esse oportunum, caute studuerunt in eam introire. Quod quidem paulatim et valde caute fecerunt. Ingressam vero insulam tanquam domini eam occupabant, et miserunt cotidie satellites suos ad quærendum prædam exterius, et multa mala fecerunt hiis qui longe, et hiis qui prope erant in omnibus villis per circuitum. Divites enim capiebant et vinculis mancipatos tenebant captivos, quousque facerent redemptionem; oves etiam et boves, bladum et brasium et quicquid invadere poterant, usque insulam transtulerunt. Quodam vero die venit quidam ribaldus de insula volens malum facere secundum consuetudinem, et ecce quidam de patria venerunt et eum arestaverunt, et capud ejus amputaverunt. Et post paucos dies exierunt milites cum multitudine armatorum, et per diversa loca ignem apposuerunt. Tandem venerunt ad manerium prioris in Brunne, et ibi ignem apposuerunt, et horrea prioris cum toto blado qui ibi erat de ecclesia, et de tribus carucatis terræ concremaverunt; homines vero illius villæ fugerunt, et in tanto infortunio non fuit qui adjuvaret. Cotidie etiam venerunt ministri iniquitatis ad prioratum de Bernewelle, et ibi comederunt et biberunt, et magnam destructionem fecerunt. Canonici vero, quamvis nolentes, vultum hillarem eis pretendebant, et cum eis comedebant et bibebant, semper hesitantes ne deterius contingeret. Contigit ergo quod quidam vir staturæ magnæ dictus Philippus leC hampion, diluculo fecit priorem excitari de lecto suo dixitque ad eum, " Volo habere ad opus domini mei totum bladum tuum, et totum brasium tuum, et totum lardarium tuum; trade igitur mihi claves;" responditque prior, " Si omnia vis habere, tunc non possumus hic permanere." Supervenerunt vero duo alii qui erant de familia domini R. de Kerebrok, qui erat amicus prioris, dixeruntque ad Philippum, " Omnia bona istius domus sunt seysyta ad opus domini nostri, et tu vis ea auferre." Et Philippus ait, "Ego omnia asportabo mala gratia vestra." Et alii responderunt, "Per plagas Dei, non facies." Et sic orta est contentio inter eos, et extraxerunt gladios ad mutuo se interficiendos, in tamen quod circumstantes vix poterant eos sedare. Recesserunt ergo cum furore magno ad determinandum questionem in insula coram dominis suis; nichil hac vice asportantes.

De adventu regis Henrici, et ejus recessu.

Audiens autem rex quod insulares multa mala facerent in circuitu, venit cum magno exercitu ad villam Cantebrigiæ, et ibi hospitabatur. Rex vero Alemanniæ Ricardus, scilicet frater regis, hospitabatur in prioratu de Bernewelle. Rex vero fecit edificare portas, et facere fossatas in circuitu villæ cum magna diligentia, nec permisit operarios diebus festivis ab opere incepto cessare. Ministri vero regis cotidie exibant per circuitum insulæ, si forte possent aliquos de insularibus comprehendere. Exierunt ergo quidam insulares de sua virtute confidentes, et ceperunt mala facere in villa de Horninggesheye, secundum quod consueverant, in contemptu regis; sed ministri regis quatuor ex ipsis comprehenderunt, ceterique fugerunt ad naves suas, de quibus quatuor comprehensis tres sunt decollati. Quartus vero erat Walterus de Cothenham, miles factus in insula, et hic erat laqueo suspensus. A die ergo illo facta est securitas habitantibus in patria, quamdiu rex præsens erat. Post paucos vero dies venerunt rumores ad regem quod comes Gloverniæ Gilbertus occupasset civitatem Londoniæ, et quod legatus missus in Angliam a latere domini Papæ obsessus erat in turri Londoniæ, et recessit rex cum toto exercitu suo festinans ad partes illas, et reliquit villam Cantebrigiæ sine custode. Quod scientes, insulares venerunt cum multitudine armatorum ad villam Cantebrigiæ, et portas quas rex construxerat igne concremaverunt, et domos in quibus rex hospitabatur similiter combusserunt, et multa mala et depredationes fecerunt. Burgenses vero Cantabrigiæ, scientes eorum adventum, omnes fugerunt, nec remansit unus etiam ex illis qui resisteret insularibus. Revertentes autem milites per prioratum de Bernewelle, inierunt inter se consilium ad molendinum [ad]ventum et totum prioratum concremarent, et aulam præcipue ubi rex Alemanniæ hospitabatur. Hoc vero consilium duravit fere per duas horas. Sed dominus Hugo Pecche et dominus Robertus Pecche frater ejus opposuerunt se, dicentes quod citius morirentur quam permitterent ossa patris sui et parentum suorum concremari, et sic salvata est domus ab incendio contra voluntatem multorum. Transitum vero facientes per portas prioratus quidam malevoli, minas graves intentabant in personam prioris Jolani, asserentes quod dominus Walterus de Cothenham-miles, qui, ut predictum est, laqueo suspensus erat, per querimoniam ipsius prioris erat morti adjudicatus. Quod audiens, prior perterritus valde fugam iniit, et in abbatia de Waltham honorifice susceptus est. Canonici vero domi existentes in timore magno ducebant dies suos, desiderio magno tempora pacis expectantes.

De oppressionibus post guerram.

Antequam pax posset reformari, multa fiebant mala in terra per incendia, per depredationes, per virorum interfectiones, per incarcerationes et captivorum redemptiones, et per bella diversa, præcipue apud Lewes et Cestrefeld et Evesham, ubi comes Leycestriæ erat interfectus, de quibus longum esset omnia recitare. Sed sciendum est quod, Symone de Monte-forti interfecto, rex cum exercitu suo obsedit castrum de Kenilwrthe, et optinuit in forma pacis. Dominus etiam Eadwardus prudenter intravit in insulam, et in forma pacis satis curialiter agebat cum insularibus, et sic demum præconizata erat pax per totam Angliam, et facta est exultatio magna in omnibus finibus terræ; exceptis hiis dumtaxat qui oderunt pacem. Verumptamen, quamvis manus armatorum populum non terreret, ecclesiasticas personas et religiosas angustiæ multæ oppresserunt, tum per procurationes legato solutas, tum per decimas domino regi concessas, et etiam summo pontifici per multos annos. Deinde vicesimas, tricesimas, et quintadecimas, procurationes magistri Reymundi, magistri

Archidiaconis, magistri Gifredi, archiepiscopi Ragensis, et in subsidio Terræ Sanctæ; et in tantum sunt excoriati viri religiosi quod tædebat vivere, videntes ecclesiam Dei ancillari quæ solet esse libera. Verumptamen, post pacem concessam, prioratus de Bernewelle erat singulariter onerata per dominum Willelmum de Sancto Omero, qui erat justiciarius regis ad inquirendum de insularibus. Hic occupavit domos prioratus per annum integrum cum familia magna, et insuper uxor ejus quæ aliquando tenuit xxij. mulieres. Et quamvis prior mul- expensas fecerit, multasque jacturas occasione dicti domini W. et suorum sustinuerit, idem tamen justiciarius, ad beneficia ipsius prioris valde ingratus, in fine itinerationis suæ amerciavit priorem ad xl. solidos, et tamen hoc noluit innotescere priori. Quod cum prior per quendam amicum cognovisset in secretis, venit coram domino W., petens sibi legem communem concedi, adjiciens quod inquisitio facta in absentia sua non debuit sibi prejudicare. Petiit ergo inquisitionem fieri in præsentia sua, ut possit inimicos suos amovere. Quod et factum est. Prior quoque calumpniavit unum tantum, qui erat in inquisitione, et cæteri acquietaverunt priorem, et sic recessit prior quietus mala gratia ipsius justiciarii."—MS. Harl. 3601, fol. 45, r°,—46, v°.

THE MIRACLES OF SIMON DE MONTFORT.

The first leaf of the MS. is unfortunately so much defaced that it would be impossible to decypher it. The writing has apparently been scratched out purposely, perhaps by some one who was hostile to Montfort's party. It contained evidently an account of the battle of Evesham, and not a life of the Earl of Leicester, as stated by some writers. My text commences *ακεφαλος* in this account, but what follows is sufficient to identify the whole of this introductory history as an extract from the Evesham chronicle, a copy of which is in MS. Oxon. Laud. 529, Bern. 1510. From p. 83, l. 27, we learn that the writer of this collection was a monk of Evesham, but there is nothing to enable us to identify his name.

P. 67, *l.* 12.—*More pecudum.* The number of slain on the barons' party was, according to all accounts, very great. Five thousand is the amount given by many chroniclers.—MS. Cotton. Tiber. A. VII. fol. 162, v°; MS. Cotton. Cleopatra, D. IX. fol. 55, r°, *a*; MS. Arund. Coll. Arm. 1, fol. 123, v°. See also the Eulogium Niniani,* MS. Cotton. Galba, E. VII. fol. 171, r°, *β*. One hundred and twenty knights were slain, it is said, on Leicester's side.—MS. Cotton, Domit. XIII. fol. 30, r°. Very few were slain on the other side.—MS. Liber de Antiquis Legibus, fol. 94, v°, *a*.

P. 68, *l.* 2.—*Willelmum de Bello-Campo.* He was a benefactor to the monastery at Evesham. — MS. Cotton. Vitell. E. XVII. fol. 231, r°.

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* I quote the MS. by this title, but there is no authority for so doing. From fol. 185, r°, *a*, and other places, it appears that it was written in the monastery of Malmsbury. The MS. Cotton. Cleop. D. II. and MS. Trin. Coll. Cantab. R. VII. 2, appear to contain similar chronicles. See Mr. Hunter's report on the Cambridge libraries, p. 340.

P. 68, *l.* 25.—*Mensuratus.* This word, which so frequently occurs, refers to a fillet, or string, with which the relics or body of a saint, or person eminent for piety, had been *measured*, and which, when passed round the forehead of a diseased person, effected a cure by virtue of its sanctity. See Ducange, Glossar. Nov. tom. ii. p. 1231.

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WARKWORTH'S CHRONICLE

OF THE

FIRST THIRTEEN YEARS OF THE REIGN OF

KING EDWARD THE FOURTH.

Richard Halliwell Esq
from his affectionate brother
The Editor

A CHRONICLE
OF THE
FIRST THIRTEEN YEARS OF THE REIGN OF
KING EDWARD THE FOURTH,

BY JOHN WARKWORTH, D.D.
MASTER OF ST. PETER'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

EDITED, FROM THE MS. NOW IN THE LIBRARY OF ST. PETER'S COLLEGE,
BY JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, ESQ. F.R.S., F.S.A.
OF JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY
OF ANTIQUARIES OF FRANCE, &c. &c. &c.

> "Offt sithes it is seene that dyvers ther arne, the which forseene not the causis precedent and subsequent, for the which they fall many tymes into such erroure, that they abuse theymeself, and also othir theire sequacis, gheving credence to such as wrigten of affeccion, leving the trouth that was in deede."—*Hearne's Fragment, p.* 298.

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At a Meeting of the Council of THE CAMDEN SOCIETY, held at No. 25, Parliament Street, Westminster, on Thursday the 3rd day of October 1839,

THOMAS AMYOT, ESQ. Director, in the Chair,

IT WAS ORDERED,

THAT the thanks of the Council be given to the Master and Fellows of Saint Peter's College, Cambridge, for the courtesy and kindness with which they acceded to the request of the Council to be permitted to use the Manuscript Volume which contains the Original of the following Chronicle.

By order of the Council,

WILLIAM J. THOMS, *Secretary*.

INTRODUCTION.

Mr. Hunter, in the Appendix to the last Report of the Record Commissioners,* was the first who noticed the existence of a singularly valuable and curious historical document preserved in the library of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, which had been extensively quoted by Leland in his Collectanea at the commencement of the sixteenth century. Leland extracts from a MS. volume of Chronicles given to the College by John Warkworth, who was then Master, the greater portion of which is a mere copy of Caxton's edition of the Brute Chronicle; and although, without the slightest notion of a judicious selection, that industrious transcriber has extracted as largely from the Brute as from the other part of the manuscript, yet his Collectanea has for three centuries been the only known receptacle † of a portion of the exceedingly curious facts recorded in Warkworth's own Chronicle, and would, perhaps, have been for three centuries longer, had not the antiquarian diligence of Mr. Hunter discovered its latent resting-place, and added one more to the many instances of valuable documents rescued from oblivion by that zealous and able historian.

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* Fol. Lond. 1837, p. 336, col. 2.

† Previously, however, to Mr. Hunter's notice, the manuscript itself had been mentioned, but not for an historical purpose, in Mr. Hartshorne's Book Rarities of the University of Cambridge, p. 390.

The following Chronicle comprises a history of the first thirteen years of the reign of Edward the Fourth. "This eventful period," well observes Sir Henry Ellis, "though removed from us scarcely more than three centuries, is still among the darkest on our annals. Its records are confused, mutilated, and disjointed. They who wrote history in it, had no talents for the task; and there was a ferocity abroad among the partizans of both the rival houses, which prevented many from even assembling the materials of history."* The paucity of documents illustrating this period has, indeed, long † been a matter of regret. To meet with one, then, so minute in particulars, abounding in new facts, and of indisputable authenticity, cannot but be a matter of congratulation to the historian.

It is quite unnecessary here to enlarge on the history of the period to which the following narrative relates. There is, however, one part of this diary, for in many instances it is sufficiently minute to be called an occasional one, which must necessarily arrest the attention of every reader,—the account of the mysterious death of King Henry, expressed in such decided terms, and with such apparently perfect knowledge of every part of the transaction, as cannot fail to raise strong doubts of its authenticity. On a question of so dark a nature, no excuse will be needed for another writer entering into the controversy, with the aid of an additional auxiliary of powerful evidence.

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* Original Letters. Second Series, vol. i. p. 94.

† Gentleman's Magazine, 1791, vol. 61, Pt. i. p. 222.

Before I proceed further, I will place before the reader a few of the unpublished evidences I have collected relative to this transaction:—

1. "Obitus Regis Henrici Sexti, qui obiit *inter* vicesimum primum diem Maii et xxij^{m}. diem Maii." MS. Bib. Reg. 2 B. xv. fol. 1, r^{o}.

2. "Rex Henricus Sextus in arce Londoñ ferro transfigitur et occiditur." MS. Cotton. Otho, B. XIV. fol. 221, v^{o}.

3. "Et Henricus, nuper Rex, reponitur in Turrim Londoñ, et, in vigilia Ascenscionis dormiente, ibidem feliciter moriens, per Tamisiam navicula usque ad Abbathiam de Cheltosye deductus, ibi sepultus est." MS. Arundel, (College of Arms) No. 5, fol. 171, v^{o}.

4. "Et in vigilia ascensionis moriebatur Rex Henricus Sextus in turri Londoniarum, qui quidem sepultus erat

apud Chersey, et postea translatus per Regem Ricardum usque Wynsowerem." MS. Laud, 674. (B. 23) fol. 11, r°.

5. There is a Latin prophecy (written perhaps after the fulfilment of the predicted event) in MS. Digb. 196, that King Henry the Sixth shall die a violent death.

6. "Also upon ascencion evyn, Kyng Henry was brought from the tower thrugh Chepe unto Powlys upon a bere, and abowte the beere more glevys and stavys than torches; who was slayne, as it was said, by the Duke of Glowcetir;- but howe he was deed [nobody knewe, but] thedir he was brought deed; and in the chirch the corps stode all nyght, and on the morue he was conveyed to Chertsey, where he was buryed.." MS. London Chronicle. Bibl. Cotton. Vitell. A. XVI. fol. 133, r°.

7. The following is taken from a metrical history of the reign of Edward the Fourth, by John Herd, M.D., a copy of which is in MS. Cotton. Jul. C. II.

> "Interea Henricus Sextus, spoliatus avito
> Qui fuit imperio, vita spoliatur, in arce
> In Thamesis ripa vitreas que prospicit undas.
> Illum fama refert rigidum jugulasse Richardum,
> Gloucestrensis erat qui dux, vir sevus et audax,
> Post cujus cœdem sic insultasse refertur;—
> 'Masculus, en! hæres Edverdo a rege creatus,
> Tertius illius qui vixit nominis olim,
> Preter nos hodie respirat nemo superstes—
> Nos, Eboracensis quos gloria stirpis honorat!'
> Henrici corpus Pauli transfertur in ædem,
> Et jacet in feretro, vulgi ut videatur ocellis.

Parvulus est vicus, Chersei nomine notus,
In quo cœnobium, sacer Erchenwalde, locabas,
Londini fueras qui clarus episcopus olim;
Huc delatus erat tumuloque Henricus opertus;
Post Vindessoram translatus, conditur æde
Que sacrata tibi celebratur, dive Georgi!
Octo et ter denos Henricus præfuit annos;
Sex etiam menses post sceptra recepta regebat;
Vitæ annos binos et quinquaginta peregit:
Edverdus princeps gnatus fuit unicus illi."

Fol. 170 v°—171 r°.

8. "Eodem die [mensis Maij xxj°.] decessit Henricus Sextus, olim dictus Rex Anglie, apud Turrim Londoñ, et sepultus est in monasterio de Chertesey juxta Tamisiam Wintoñ dioces'. Et sic nemo relinquitur in humanis qui ex illo stirpite coronam petat." MS. Arundel, Mus. Brit. 28, fol. 25, v°.

John Blakman*, after relating an anecdote of the patience of Henry, adds—"Consimilem etiam misericordiam cum pluribus aliis ostendit, specialiter autem duobus, mortem ei intendentibus, quorum unus collo suo grave vulnus inflixit, volens excerebrasse vel decolasse eum, quod tamen Rex patientissime tulit, dicens, *forsothe and forsothe, ye do fouly to smyte a kynge enoynted so*;" and he afterwards proceeds to state—"Et tandem mortis ibi corporis violentiam sustinuit propter regnum, et tunc sperabatur, ab aliis pacifice possidendum." Little did the author of the following curious song imagine that his reigning sovereign would arrive at so tragical an end—

---

* De virtutibus et miraculis Regis Henrici, pp. 301 et 303.

> "Now grawnt him hit so be may—
> Pray we that Lord is Lord of alle,
> To save our Kyng, his reme ryalle,
> And let never myschip uppon him falle,
> Ne false traytoure him to betray.
> I praye ȝoue, seris, of ȝour gentre,
> Syng this carol reverently;
> Fore hit is mad of Kyng Herre,
> Gret ned fore him we han to pray!
> ȝif he fare wele, wele schul we be,
> Or ellis we may be ful sore;
> Fore him schul wepe mone an e,
> Thus prophecis the Blynd Awdlay."*

And "mone an e" doubtless did weep for the sainted Prince. The Croyland Continuator forcibly concludes his account with the following prayer: "may God grant time for repentance to the person, whoever he was, who laid his sacrilegious hands on the Lord's anointed."

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* MS. Douce, Bib. Bodl. Oxon. No. 302, fol. 29, v^{o}, a. A folio volume on vellum containing poems by John Awdlay, the blind poet, and (fol. 22, v^{o}, b.) written in the Monastery of Haghmond in the year 1426. Mr. Hartshorne will use this MS. in his forthcoming Shropshire Glossary. I may refer here to four Latin verses on Henry the Sixth in MS. Bodl. 926. Laud, 670. E. 3. (Bern. 61.)

But to return from this digression. Mr. Bayley says "we have satisfactory testimony that Henry lived at least up to the twenty-fifth of May," and he quotes the *Fœdera* for his authority, thereby falling into an error which Sharon Turner made, in mistaking the day of the payment of certain monies for that on which they were incurred,—an error which Dr. Lingard was the first to point out, and which takes away entirely the only seeming substantial evidence that has been brought forward to show that Henry did not die between the 21st and the 22nd of May, as stated in the following Chronicle. Fleetwood's narrative affirms that Henry expired on the 23rd "of pure displeasure and melancholy," and this very palpable attempt at deception proves at any rate that the popular feeling and opinion was strong enough to induce the Yorkists to attempt to throw a veil over the important circumstantial fact that would render a murder probable, viz. that Henry died the very night Edward made his triumphal entry into the metropolis.* Indeed, the whole of the circumstantial evidence is in favour of the murder; Edward made his triumphal entry into London on the 21st, and went into Kent with the Duke of Gloucester on the following day; on the afternoon of the 22nd, Henry's body was brought to St. Paul's, and there, as we are informed by four good authorities, *bled afresh*—

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* The catalogue of authorities for the murder of Henry VI. might be extended *ad libitum*, and do not show more than the popular opinion after all; it may be as well, however, to give a few references. L'Art de verifier les Dates, i. 816, col. i.; Harl. Miscell. i. 313; Life of Henry the Sixth (8vo. Lond. 1712), p. 58; Grafton's continuation of Harding's Chronicle, Sir Henry Ellis's edition, p. 460; "Rex Henricus occiditur clam in Turri," MS. Tanner, Bodl. II.

> "O, gentlemen, see, see! dead Henry's wounds
> Open their congealed mouths, and bleed afresh!—
> Blush, blush, thou lump of foul deformity;
> For 'tis thy presence that exhales this blood
> From cold and empty veins, where no blood dwells;
> Thy deed, inhuman and unnatural,
> Provokes this deluge most unnatural."

William Habington* remarks that "the death of King Henry was acted in the darke, so that it cannot be affirmed who was the executioner, only it is probable it was a resolution of the state. The care of the king's safety and the publicke quiet, in some sort making it,

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fol. 104, vo. and fol. 56, ro; Hist. Anglic. a M. H. 1640, p. 180; Cooper's Chronicle, p. 267; MS. Harl. 2408; Palmesii Continuatio Chron. Eusebiani, edit. 1483, fol. 160, ro; Mémoires Olivier de la Marche, sub anno 1469; Lilii Chronicon Angliæ, edit. 1565, fol. 63, ro; the Breviat Chronicle of the Kings of England, edit. Cant. 1553, ao. 1470; MS. Vinc. in Coll. Arm. 418.

* The Historie of Edward the Fourth. Lond. 1640, p. 104.

however cruell, yet necessary;" and he adds, "at what time his body lay in Saint Paul's, and after in Blackefryers, a large quantity of blood issued from his nose—a most miraculous way of speaking the barbarisme of his murther, and giving tyrants to understand that the dead dare in their language tell the truth, and call even their actions to account." I make this extract for the purpose of remarking on Habington's political reason for the murder of Henry—an argument which Hume and all subsequent historians, with the exception of Dr. Lingard, have strangely underrated. If the life of Henry was of no importance, how was it that at Ludford the leader of the Yorkists considered it expedient to report his death, and actually cause mass to be celebrated for the repose of his soul, although he knew that the King was then alive and well*. Neither do I consider the argument alleged by Sir James Mackintosh † of much weight—*it is improbable that those who through so many scenes of blood had spared the Prince should at last incur the odium of destroying him.* Had not the most recent of Edward's misfortunes been owing to him? and, moreover, while the child was living,‡ so long as the heir apparent of the throne was in existence—if so, indeed, he could be called after the treaty made by his father—the life of Henry was not worth caring for in comparison with the danger of destroying him. But now the love of the people, stronger and more enthusiastic as the unfortunate Henry was overwhelmed with greater and increasing difficulties, tended towards, and, perhaps, would ultimately have accomplished, the ejection of his rival, a sovereign who was inclined to deal heavily with them, and who never could have been a general favourite.

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* Rot. Parl. V. 348; Owen and Blakeway's History of Shrewsbury, vol. i. p. 229.

† History of England, vol. ii. p. 44.

‡ "And shortly after [his final defeat], to make that parte sure,

Warkworth informs us that the Duke of Gloucester was at the Tower of London on the night of the murder of Henry. No certain evidence has transpired relative to the share that this prince had in the deed, nor is it to be expected that we could obtain any; the voice of the people attributed the direct performance of the murder to him; and his insatiable ambition, for his road was doubtless more open after Henry's decease, afforded a fair ground for the presumption. Philip de Comines says, "if what was told me be true, after the battle was over, the Duke of Gloucester slew this poor King Herry with

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was deprived of his lief, havinge loste also Edward his sonne the Prynce before spoken of, the hope of all his posteritie, in the Battayle of Tewksbury." MS. Sloan. 3479. fol. 6, vo. See also MS. Arundel, Mus. Brit. 28. fol. 25, vo. which contains the only early authority for this view of the transaction.

his own hand, or caused him to be carried to some private place, and stood by himself, while he was killed." There must have been some reason for these rumours, and De Comines was contemporary; perhaps Gloucester might have had a double purpose in the death of the king—the accomplishment of his grand aim of ambition and the service of his brother. He appears to have been detected in his aim at sovereignty, for Lewis Glyn Cothi (Works, p. 47, l. 13.) in a poem written immediately after the death of Edward, seems to have had some presentiment that Richard would succeed to the throne, for he emphatically styles him *y brenin Risiart.*

In the perusal of the following narrative every one must be struck with the difference between the characters of the two rival princes; and although, perhaps, with the enthusiasm of a staunch Lancastrian, its author has coloured the vices of the one, yet in no place has he magnified the virtues of the other. Nothing can be fairer or more sensible than the view he gives of the state of popular feeling, after the resumption of the throne by Henry.—" These were the causes, among others, which caused the people to grumble against him; and the common people said if they could have another king, he would regain all his lost possessions, and amend every corruption in the state, and bring the realm of England into prosperity and peace; nevertheless, when King Edward reigned, the people expected all the aforesaid prosperity and peace, but it came not; but one battle after another, and much trouble and loss among the common people." Almost every change, expected by the people to produce great and immediate advantage to them, has failed at least in its incipient operation, and the above clearly accounts for the strong reaction in favour of Henry. Afterwards it acted as a much more powerful motive, and so deeply did the fortunes of the royal prisoner excite the general compassion of his subjects, that, after he was really deceased, no adulation was considered sufficient to sustain the well-merited reputation of his moral virtues. Of this we have a remarkable instance in the legendary life of him, written by a monk of Windsor about the year 1500, which opens with the following hymn,*—

"Salve! miles preciose,
Rex Henrice generose,
Palmes vitis celice;
In radice caritatis
Vernans flore sanctitatis,
Viteque angelice.

"Salve! flos nobilitatis,
Laus et honor dignitatis,
Seu corone regie;

---

* De miraculis Henrici Sexti, libri duo. MS. Harl. 423, fol.72, r°.

Pie pater orphanorum,
Vera salus populorum,
Robur et ecclesie.

"Salve! forma pietatis,
Exemplar humilitatis,
Decus innocencie!
Vi oppressis vel turbatis,
Mestis atque desolatis,
Scola paciencie.

"Salve! fax superne lucis,
Per quam servi summi ducis
Illustrantur undique:
Dum virtute lucis vere,
Meruisti prefulgere
Tantis signis gratie.

"Salve! quem Rex seculorum
Choris jungens angelorum
Civem fecit patrie;
Te laudare cupientes
Fac ut semper sint fruentes
Tecum vita glorie! Amen."

Henry the Seventh made an application to Pope Alexander the Sixth for the canonization of Henry, but his extreme penuriousness was the reason of its not being carried into effect, as he was unwilling to incur the necessary expenses.

John Lidgate's well-known poem on the Kings of England concludes with the reign of Henry VI.; but one manuscript * contains an addition relating to Edward IV. which renders the entire stanzas on those two reigns worthy of insertion, because the contrast is most singular;—

> "Sixt Henry brought forthe in al vertu,
> By just title borne by enheritaunce,
> Aforne providede by grace of Criste Jhesu,
> To were ij. crownys in Ynglonde and in Fraunce;
> To whom Gode hathe yove soverayne suffisaunce
> Of vertuous lyfe, and chose hym for his knyghte,
> Longe to rejoyse and reigne in his righte.
>
> "Comforthe al thristy and drynke with gladnes!
> Rejoyse withe myrthe thoughe ye have nate to spende!
> The tyme is come to avoyden yowre distres—
> Edwarde the fourthe the olde wronges to amende
> Is wele disposede in wille, and to defende
> His londe and peple in dede, withe kynne and myghte;
> Goode lyf and longe I pray to God hym sende,
> And that seynte George be withe hym in his righte."

It is evident that this latter part was written at the commencement of the reign of Edward IV.

The MS. which contains the Chronicle now printed

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* MS. Harl. 2251, fol. 4, r^o^.

consists of a folio volume of 225 leaves of vellum, the last being pasted to the cover, and written not long after the last mentioned event, A.D. 1473. Leland errs in saying that the MS. is in Warkworth's handwriting, for it is evidently the work of a common scribe; we fortunately possess a note of presentation in Warkworth's autography, and the fac-simile of this, with a specimen of the scribe's calligraphy, will be found at the commencement of the volume. The sentence with which Warkworth opens his memoranda is curious; it is probable that he had two copies of Caxton's Chronicle, in one of which he had written his own continuation, beginning with the words "at the coronacyone of the forseyde Edward," and in the other, instead of making a second copy of the continuation, he simply made the reference "as for alle thynges that folowe, referre them to my copey, in whyche is wretyn a remanente [or continuation] lyke to this forseyd werke" [i. e. written in the same manner as Caxton's Chronicle.] The scribe, who made the transcript of Caxton now preserved at Peterhouse, had been directed to refer from one manuscript to the other for the continuation, and in so doing he added Warkworth's note of reference by way of introduction to the new part, joining them together by means of the words "that is to wytt, that."

The scribe of the Brute Chronicle has exchanged Caxton's orthography for his own, as the reader may readily see by comparing the printed edition with the following conclusion :—

" And here I make ane ende of this lytelle werke as myche as I can fynde aftere the forme of the werke byfore made by Ranulpd Monke of Chestere. And where ther is ony faughte I beseche them that schal rede it to correcte it. For yf I cowede have founde moo storyes I wolde have sett in itt moo; but the substaunce that I can fynde and knowe I have schortely seett them in this boke, to the entent that suche thynges as have be done sithe deythe or ende of the same booke of Polycronycone be hade in rememberaunce and not putt in oblyvione, ne forgetynge prayenge alle them that schalle see this simple werke to pardone my symple and rude wrytynge. Endede the secunde day of Julij the xxij. yere of the regne of Kynge Edwarde the fourt, and of the incarnacyone of oure Lorde M^{l}. cccc. iiij. score and tweyne.

" *Finysched and ended after the copey of Caxtone then in Westmynster.*" Fol. 214, v°.

For the sake of the general reader it may be as well to give the note of presentation, lithographed at the commencement of this volume, in full :—

" Liber Collegii Sancti Petri in Cantebrigia, ex dono Magistri Johannis Warkeworthe, Magistri dicti Collegii, sub interminacione anathematis nullatenus a libraria ibidem alienandus."

From the style in which this is written, there can be no doubt that it is in Warkworth's own handwriting; and it is also evident from a comparison with several of his autographs still preserved in the library of the College.

I have been able to collect nothing relative to the personal history of Warkworth, except that he was Master of St. Peter's College from A.D. 1473 to A.D. 1498.* He appears to have been a man of moderate learning and ability, although his story about the *Wemere* partakes strongly of superstition, and a reliance upon mere hearsay; but, in some instances, his minuteness in particulars would lead us to believe that he was intimately acquainted with the political affairs of the period.

The account which he gives of Henry's death is certainly most singular. It would seem as if he had intended for every reader a certain assurance far from being voluntarily taken—

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* In St. Peter's College there is an original picture of Warkeworthe, executed in 1498, in a clerical habit, holding an open book with both his hands. This was formerly in the curious room called the Stone Parlour, but is now, I believe, transferred to the library. There is the following distich underneath—

> "Vives adoptata gaudeto prole; probato
> Non cuicunque libet, progenuisse licet."

In the ancient register of donations to the College is a list of

> "Rede this treyte it may hym move—
> And may hym teche lightly with awe."*

Be that as it may, Warkworth's narrative is supported by the strongest collateral proof, and is therefore deserving of the greatest consideration.

I may observe that much new matter to illustrate this period may be found in the contemporary poems of Lewis Glyn Cothi, a Welsh bard, part of whose works have lately been published by the Royal Cymmrodorion Institution, under the able editorship of my friend the Rev. John Jones, M.A. (Tegid), of Christ Church, Oxford, and the Rev. W. Davies. I have made more particular reference to these spirited poems in the notes; but I take the opportunity here of pointing out to the general reader Mr. Jones's Introductory Essay on the Wars of the Rival Roses, which would have done ample credit to a work professing far higher pretensions: I speak of it not as the result of much research, or of any difficult research whatever, but as being an admirable view of the facts of the case, discussed with great judgment and ability, and

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books given to the library by Warkeworthe, and from this it appears that he presented his MS. Chronicle in the year 1483.

* MS. Bodl. 3692. Hyp. Bodl. 160. (226.) Tract. sep. ult. fol. 1, r°. *A miracle play of the Burial of Christ, of the fifteenth century.* I quote this MS. for the purpose of pointing out a curious miracle-play which does not appear to have been hitherto known.

well adapted to fulfil the purpose for which it was intended.

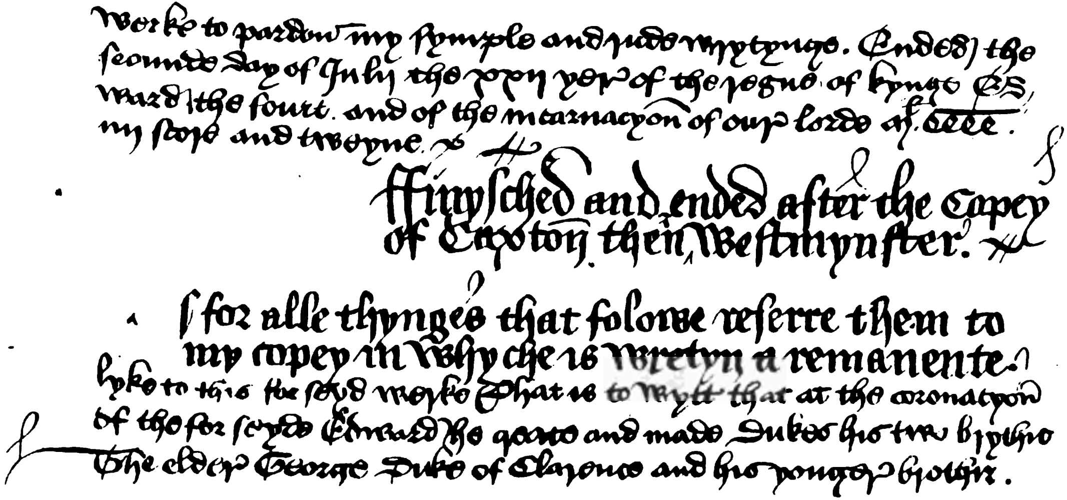
I gladly take the opportunity of expressing my respectful and grateful thanks to the Rev. William Hodgson, D.D., Master of St. Peter's College, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, for the readiness with which I have been favoured with every possible facility for rendering the text of the following document as correct as the MS. will allow.

I also beg leave to return my best thanks to Charles George Young, Esq., York Herald, for the extreme kindness and liberality with which he assisted some researches I found it expedient to make in the library of the College of Arms; and to John Gough Nichols, Esq. for the communication of some valuable observations, which will be found introduced among the notes under his initials, and for the comprehensive index to the text and notes. The correctness of the printed text has been ensured by a careful collation made by Mr. Black, whose experience in these matters has rendered his assistance most valuable.

JAMES O. HALLIWELL.

35, Alfred Place, Sept. 18th, 1839.

Fac Simile from the first page of Warkworth's Chronicle.

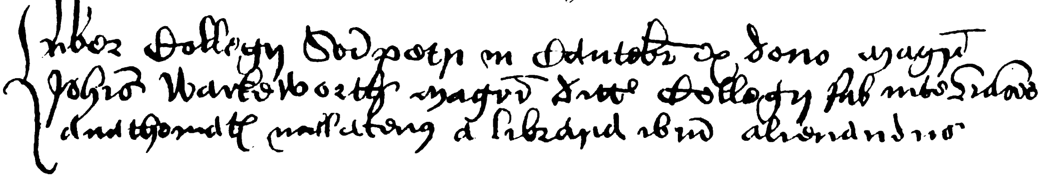


worke to pardon my symple and rude wrytynge. Ended the secunde day of July the xxij yere of the regne of kynge Edward the fourt. and of the incarnacyon of oure lorde a. M.cccc. ny ſtoke and trowyne.

ffinysched and ended after the copey of Caxton then in Westmynster.

for alle thynges that folowe referre them to my copey in whyche is wretyn a remanente lyke to this forseyd werke. That is to wytt that at the coronacyon of the forseyde Edward he create and made Dukes his two brythir the elder George Duke of Clarence and his yonger brothir.

Note on the cover of the Volume.



Liber Collegii Sancti Petri in Cantebr' de dono magistri Johannis Warkeworth magistri dicti Collegii sub interdicto anathematis a libraria eius alienandus.

J. Netherclift, lithog.

Camden Society.

WARKWORTH'S CHRONICLE.

As **FOR** alle thynges that folowe, referre them to my copey, in whyche is wretyn a remanente lyke to this forseyd werke: that is to wytt, that, at the coronacyone of the forseyde Edwarde, he create and made dukes his two brythir, the eldere George Duke of Clarence, and his yongere brothir Richard Duke of Gloucetre; and the Lord Montagu, the Erle of Warwykes brothere, the Erle of Northumberlonde; and one William Stafford squiere, Lord Stafforde of Southwyke; and Sere Herbard, Lorde Herbard, and aftere Lorde Erle of Penbroke; and so the seide Lorde Stafforde was made Erle of Devynschire; the Lorde Gray Ryffyne, Erle of Kent; the Lorde Bourchyer, Erle of Essex; the Lorde Jhon of Bokyngham, the Erle of Wyltschyre; Sere Thomas Blount, knyghte, Lord Mont[joy]; Sere Jhon Hawarde, Lorde Hawarde; William Hastynges he made Lorde Hastynges and grete Chamberlayne; and the Lorde Ryvers; Denham squyere, Lorde Dynham; and worthy as is afore schewed; and othere of gentylmen and yomenne he made knyghtes and squyres, as thei hade desserved.

And also the fyrst yere of his regne he ordeyned a parleament, at whiche were atteynted Kynge Herry and all othere that fledde with hym into Scotlonde oute of Englonde; and for so moche as he fande in tyme of nede grete comforth in his comyners, he ratyfied and confermyd alle the ffraunsches yeve to citeis and townes, &c. and graunted to many cyteis and tounes new fraunschesses more than was graunted before, ryghte largly, and made chartours therof to the entent to have the more good wille and love in his londe.

Also Quene Margrett, Herry Duke of Excetre, the Duke of Somersett, and other lordes that fleede Englonde, hade kepte certeyne castelles in Northumberlond, as Awnwyk, Bambrught, Dunstonebrught, and also Werworthe, whiche they hade vytaled and stuffed bothe with Englischemenne, Frenschemenne, and Scottesmenne; by the whiche castelle[s] thei hade the moste party of alle Northumberlond. Kynge Edwarde and his counselle, thynkynge and un [der] stondynge wat hurte myghte appene thereof, made commyssiones to the sowthe and west cowntre, and hade of them gret money, wyth the whiche menne made redy, and beseged the same castelle[s] in the moneth of Decembre in the yere aforseide. And Sere Peris le Brasylle, knyght, of Fraunce, and the best warrer of alle that tyme, was in Scotlonde to helpe Quene Margaret; when he knew that the castelles were besegede, he hade xx M^{l}. of Scottesmenne, and came toward Alnwyke and alle the other castels. And whenne Kynge Edwardes hooste had knowlege that Sere Perys le Brasille with the Scottesmenne were comynge, thei remewed from the sege and were affrayed; and the Scottesche hoost supposed it hade be doone for some gayne, and thei were affrayed; also thei durst noȝt come neghe the castelle; for and thei hade comyne one boldly, thei myghte have takyne and distressit alle the lordes and comeners, for thei hade lye ther so longe in the felde, and were greved with colde and rayne, that thei hade no coreage to feght, &c. Never the lattere whenne thei that were in the castelle beseged saw that the sege was withedraw for fere, and the Scottes host afferde, also thei came oute of the castelle and lefte them opene, &c.; and so afterwarde Kynge Edwardes hoost enterde into alle the hole castelle, and kept it, &c.

And after that, the castelle of Bamburght was yoldene to the Kynge, by treyatte and apoyntment by Herry the Duke of Somersett that kept it, and came in to Kynge Edwardes grace, whiche graunted to hym a M^{l}. marke by yere; whereof he was not payede; the[r]for he departed oute of Englonde after halff yere into Scotlonde, &c. And so Kynge Edward was possessed of alle Englonde, excepte a castelle in Northe Wales called Harlake, whiche Sere Richard Tunstall kepte, the qwhiche was gotene afterwarde by the Lorde Harberde.

And in the thyrde yere of the reygne of Kynge Edwarde, and anno Domini M°.cccc.lxiij, ther was ane fervent froste thrugh Englonde, and snowe, that menne myght goo overe the yise, and a fervent colde. And also ther was holde a parleamente at Westmynster, in the whiche was graunted to the Kynge ane ayde, whiche was as moche money as the xv. parte of mennys goodes and ane halff so myche more, where of the peple grocchede sore.

Also the iiij^{e} yere of Kynge Edwarde, the Erle of Warwyke was sent into Fraunce for a maryage for the Kynge, for one fayre ladye, suster-doughtere to the Kynge of Fraunce, whiche was concludede by the Erle of Warwyke. And whiles the seyde Erle of Warwyke was in Fraunce, the Kynge was wedded to Elisabethe Gray, wedow, the qwiche Sere Jhon Gray that was hyre housbonde was slayne at Yorke felde in Kynge Herry partye; and the same Elisabeth was doughtere to the Lorde Ryvers; and the weddynge was prevely in a secrete place, the fyrst day of Maye the yere above seide. And when the Erle of Warwyke come home and herde hereof, thenne was he gretely displesyd withe the Kyng; and after that rose grete discencyone evere more and more betwene the Kyng and hym, for that and other, &c. And thenne the Kyng put oute of the Chaunceler-schepp the Bysshope of Excetre, brother to the Erle of Warwyke, and made the Bysshoppe of Bathe Chaunceler of Englonde. After that the Erle of Warwyke toke to hyme in fee as many knyghtys, squyers, and gentylmenne as he myght, to be stronge; and Kyng Edwarde dide that he myght to feble the Erles powere. And yett thei were acorded diverse tymes: but thei nevere loffyd togedere aftere.

Also in the iiij^{te} yere of the Kynge Edwarde, the monethe of Maij, the Duke of Somersett, the Lorde Roos, the Lorde Moleyns, Talboys the Erle of Kyme, Sire Phylippe Wenterworth, Sire Thomas Fynderne, gadred a grete peple of the northe contre. And Sere Jhon Nevelle, that tyme beynge Erle of Northumberlonde, with x. M^{l}. men come uppon them, and there the comons fleede that were with them, and ther the forseide lordes were takene and afterward behedede. But thenne the Lorde Montagu, the Erle of Warwykes brothere, whiche the Kynge had made Erle of Northumberlonde, was myghty and stronge by the same, &c. And for so moche as the Kynge and his counselle thought that he wolde holde with his Erle of Warwyke, therfor the Kyng and his counselle made the countre to desire that thei myght have the ryghtfull heyre Percy, sonne to Henry Percy that was slayne at Yorke Feld, to be the Erle of Northumberlond; and so it was doone. And aftere this the Kynge made Lorde Montagu, Marquyus Montagu, and made his sonne Duke of Bedford, whiche schulde wedde the princesse, the Kynges heldest doughter, whiche, by possibylite, schuld be Kynge of Englonde; and so he hade many fayre wordys and no lordeschyppys, but alwey he promysed he wuld do, &c.

Also the same yere, and the yere of oure Lord M^{l}.cccc.lxiiij. Kynge Edwarde chaunged the coyne of Englonde, by whiche he hade grete getynge; for he made of ane olde noble a ryall, the whiche was commaundyde to goo for x.s.; nevere the latter the same ryolle was put viij.d. of aley, and so weyed viij.d. more by delaynge; and smote hym in to a newe prynte. Also he made of iij.d. a grote; and also he [made] angelle noblys of vj.s. viij.d., and by diverse coynes, to the grete harme of the comene peple.

Also the same yere, Kynge Herry was takene bysyde a howse of religione in Lancaschyre, by the mene of a blacke monke of Abyngtone, in a wode called Cletherwode, besyde Bungerly Hyppyngstones, by Thomas Talbott, sonne and heyre to Sere Edmunde Talbot of Basshalle, and Jhon Talbott his cosyne of Colebry, withe other moo; whiche disseyvide, beyngne at his dynere at Wadyngtone Halle, and caryed to Londone on horse bake, and his lege bownde to the styrope, and so brought thrugh Londone to the Toure, where he was kepte longe tyme by two squyres and ij. yomen of the crowne, and ther menne; and every manne was suffred to come and speke withe hym, by licence of the kepers.

And in the vth yere of Kynge Edwarde, the Erle of Oxenforde, the Lord Abrey his sonne, and Sere Thomas Todenam knyght, were taken, and brought into the Toure of Londone, and there was leyde to them hye tresone; and aftyrwarde thei were brought before the Erle of Worscetre, and juged by lawe padowe that thei schuld be hade to the Toure Hylle, where was made a scaffolde of viij. fote hyȝt, and ther was there hedes smyten of, that alle menne myght see; whereof the moste peple were sory.

And in the vi. yere of Kynge Edwarde regne, the Lorde Hungerforde was takene and behedede for hye treasoune at Salisbury. And in vij. yere of Kynge Edwarde, Sere Thomas Cooke, Sere Jhon Plummere, knyght, and aldermenne of Londone, and Humfrey Haward and other aldermen were arested, and treasoune surmysed uppone them, whereof thei were acquyte, but thei lost grete goodes to the Kynge, to the valowe of xl. M^{l}. marke or more; and diverse tymes in dyverse places of Englonde, men were arestede for treasoune, and some were putt to dethe, and some scaped.

And the viij. yere of the regne of Kynge Edwarde, a lytelle before Michaelmasse, there apperyde a blasynge sterre in the weste, a iiij. fote hyghe by estymacyone, in evenynge, goynge fro the weste towarde the northe, and so endurede v. or vj. wekes. And the same yere Sere Thomas Hungerforde knyght, sonne to the Lorde Hungerforde, and Herry Curteney, the Erle of Devynschyre of right, were takene for treasoune and behedede at Salisbury; and menne seyde the Lorde Stafforde of Southwyke was cause of the seyde Herry Curtenayes dethe, for he wolde be the Erle of Devynschyre, and so the Kynge made hym afterwarde, and [he] hade it noȝt halff a yere.

And in the ix. yere of the regne of Kynge Edwarde, at myssomere, the Duke of Clarence passede the see to Caleis to the Erle of Warwyke, and there weddede his doughter by the Archebysshoppe of Yorke the Erle of Warwyke brothere, and afterwarde come overe ayene. And anone aftere that, by ther assig[n]ment, there was a grete insurreccyon in Yorkeschyre, of dyvers knyghtes, squyres, and comeners, to the nowmbere of xx^{ti} M^{l}.; and Sere William Conyars knyghte was therre capteyne, whiche callede hym self Robyne of Riddesdale; and agens them aroose, by the Kynges commawndement, Lorde Harbarde, Erle of Penbroke, withe xliij. M^{l}. of Walschemenne, the beste in Wales, and Humfray Stafforde, with vij. M^{l}. of archers of the weste countre; and as thei went togedere to mete the northemenne at a towne, there felle in a varyaunce for ther logynge, and so the Erle of Devenschyre departed from the Erle of Penbroke withe alle his menne. And Robyne of Riddesdale came uppone the Walschemenne in a playne byyonde Banbury toune, and ther thei faughthe strongly togedere, and ther was the Erle of Penbroke takene, and his brother withe hym, and two M^{l}. Walschmenne slayne, and so the Walschmen loste the felde the xxvj. day of Juylle the same yere. The names of the gentylmen that were slayne of Walsche party in the same batelle:—Sere Rogere Vaghan, knyght; Herry Organ sonne and heyre; Thomas Aprossehere Vaghan, squyere; William Harbarde of Breknoke, squyere; Watkyn Thomas, sonne to Rogere

Vaghan; Yvan ap Jhon of Merwyke; Davy ap Jankyn of Lymmeryke; Harry Done ap Pikton; John Done of Kydwelle; Ryse ap Morgon ap Ulston; Jankyn Perot ap Scottesburght; John Eneand of Penbrokeschire; and Jhon Contour of Herforde. And of the north party ther was slayne Sere Herry Latymere, sonne and heyre to the Lorde Latymere; Sere Rogere Pygot, knyghte; James Conya[r]s, sonne and heyre to Sere Jhon Conya[r]s, knyght; Olivere Audley, squyere; Thomas Wakes sonne and heyre; William Mallerye, squyere; and many othere comyners, &c. And at that tyme was the Lorde Ryvers takene, and one of his sonnes, in the forest of Dene, and brought to Northamtone, and the Erle of Penbroke a[nd] Sere Richard Herbarde his brother were behedede at Northamtone, alle iiij. by the commawndement of the Duke of Clarence and the Erle of Warwyke; and Thomas Harbarde was slayne at Brystow, &c. And at that same tyme was Stafford, that was Erle of Devynschyre but half a yere, take at Bryggewatere by the comons ther in Somersettschyre, and ther ryghte behedede. And after that the Archebysschoppe of Yorke had understondynge that Kynge Edwarde was in a vilage bysyde Northamptone, and alle his peple he reysyd were fledde fro hym; by the avyse of the Duke of Clarence and the Erle of Warwyke he rode with certeyne horsmenne harneysed withe hym, and toke Kynge Edwarde, and had hym unto Warwyke castelle a lytelle whyle, and afterwarde to Yorke cite; and ther, by fayre speche and promyse, the Kynge scaped oute of the Bisshoppys handes, and came unto Londone, and dyd what hym lykede. And the same yere, the xxix. day of Septembre, Humfrey Nevylle, knyght, and Charles his brothere, were takene by the Erle of Warwyke, and behedede at Yorke, the Kynge beynge present. And in the same yere [was] made a proclamacyone at the Kynges Benche in Westmynstere, and in the cyte of Londone, and in alle Englond, a generalle pardone tylle alle manere of men for alle manere insurreccyons and trespasses; and also a hole xv$^{\text{sim}}$.

schulde be gaderyd and payed that same yere at Martynmasse, and at oure Lady-Day in Lent after; whiche noyed the peple, for thei had payed a lytelle before a gret taske, and the xv. parte of every mannes good, &c.

And in the x. yere of Kynge Edwardes regne, in the moneth of Marche, the Lorde Willowby, the Lorde Welles his sonne, Thomas Delalond knyght, and Sere Thomas Dymmoke knyght, the Kynges Champyon, droff oute of Lyncolneschyre Sere Thomas à Burghe, a knyght of the Kynges howse, and pullede downe his place, and toke alle his goodes and catayle that thei myghte fynde, and thei gaderid alle the comons of the schyre to the nowmbre of xxx. M^{l}., and cryed "Kynge Herry," and refused Kynge Edwarde. And the Duke of Clarence and the Erle of Warwyke causede alle this, lyke as thei dyde Robyne of Riddesdale to ryse afore that at Banbury felde. And whenne Kynge Edwarde herde hereof, he made oute his commyssyons, and gaderyd a grete peple of menne, and sent his pardone to the Lorde Wyllowby, and a commaundement that thei schuld come to hym, and so he dyd. And whenne the Kynge was sure of hym, he and alle his oste went towarde Lyncolneschyre, the Lord Welles, and alle the othere peple were gaderd togedere, and commawndede Lorde Wyllowby to sende a lettere to hys sonne and to alle the peple that he gaderyde, that thei schulde yelde them to hym as to ther sovereyne Lorde, or ellys he made a woue that the Lorde Willowby schuld lese his hede; and he wrote and sent his lettere forthe, but therfor they wulde noȝt ceysse; wherfor the Kynge comawndyde the Lorde Wyllowhby hede for to be smytene of, notwithstondynge his pardone. And so the Kynge toke his oste and went towarde his enemyes, and losyde his gonnys of his ordynaunce uppone them, and faught with them, and anone the comons fledde away; but ther was many manne slayne of Lyncolneschyre, and the Lorde Wellys, Sere Thomas Delalonde, and Sere Thomas Dymmoke, knyghtys, takene and beheddede. And whenne the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwike herde the felde was loste, and how there cownselle was dyscoverede, thei fledde westwarde to the see syde, and toke there here schippys, and sayled towarde Southamptone, and e[n]tendet there to have a grete schyppe of the seide Erle of Warwykes, callyde the Trinite; but the Lorde Scales, the Quenes brother, was sent thedere by the Kynges commawndement, and other withe hym, and faught with the seide Duke and Erle, and toke there dyverse schyppes of theres and many of ther men therein; so that the Duke and the Erle were fayne to flee to the Kynge of Fraunce, where thei were worschipfully receyved. And after this the Kynge Edwarde came to Southamptone, and commawndede the Erle of Worcetere to sitt and juge suche menne as were taken in the schyppes, and so xx. persones of gentylmen and yomenne were hangede, drawne, and quartered, and hedede; and after that thei hanged uppe by the leggys, and a stake made scharpe at bothe endes, whereof one ende was putt in att bottokys, and the other ende ther heddes were putt uppe one; for the whiche the peple of the londe were gretely displesyd; and evere afterwarde the Erle of Worcestre was gretely behatede emonge the peple, for ther dysordinate dethe that he used, contrarye to the lawe of the londe.

And whenne the seide Duke of Clarence and the Erle of Warwyke were in Fraunce, there apperede a blasynge sterre in the weste, and the flame therof lyke a spere hede, the whiche dyverse of the Kynges house sawe it, whereof thei were fulle sore adrede. And thanne in Fraunce whenne the seide lordes where, thei toke there counselle qwhat was beste for to do; and thei coude fynde no remedy but to sende to Quene Margaret, and to make a maryage betwex Prynce Edwarde, Kynge Herry sonne, and an other of the seid Erle of Warwikys doughters, whiche was concluded, and in Fraunce worschippfully wedded. And there it was apoyntede and acordede that Kynge Herry schuld rejoyse the kyngdome of

Englonde ageyne, and regne as welle as he dyd before, and after hym hys Prynce Edward and his heyres of his body lawfully begotyne; and if it appenede that he disceysed witheoute heyres of his body lawfully gotene, thenne schulde the kyngdome of Englonde, with the lordschyppes of Irlonde, remane unto George, the Duke of Clarence, and his heyre[s] for evere more. Also it was apoyncted and agreede that Herry Duke of Excetre, Edmunde Duke of Somersett, brother to Herry that was slayne at Hexham felde, the Erle of Devynschire called Courtnay, and alle othere knyghtes, squyers, and alle other that were putt oute and ataynted for Kynges Herry quarrelle, schulde come into Englonde ageyne, and every man to rejoyse his owne lyflode and inhabytauntes; whiche alle this poyntment aforeseide were wrytene, indentyde, and sealede, bytwixe the seide Quene Margaret, the Prynce hire sonne, in that one party, and the Duke of Clarence, and the Erle of Warwik, one that othere party. And moreovere, to make it sure, thei were sworne, and made grete othys eche to othere, wiche was done be alle Kynge of Fraunce counselle.

And in the same x. yere aforeseide, a lytelle before Michaelmesse, the Duke of Clarence and the Erle of Warwyke londede in the west countre, and gadered there a grete peple. The Lorde Markes Montagu hade gaderyd vi. Ml. men, by Kynge Edwardes commysyone and commaundement, to the entente to have recistede the seide Duke of Clarence, and the Erle of Warwyke. Nevere the lattere, the seide Markes Montagu hatyde the Kynge, and purposede to have taken hym; and whenne he was withein a myle of Kynge Edwarde, he declarede to the peple that was there gaderede with hym, how Kynge Edwarde hade fyrst yevyne to hym the erledome of Northumberlonde, and how he toke it from hym and gaff it Herry Percy, whos fadere was slayne at Yorke felde; and how of late tyme hade he made hym Markes of Montagu, and yaff a pyes neste to mayntene his astate withe: wherefor he yaff knoleage to his peple that he wulde holde withe the Erle of Warwyke, his brothere, and take Kynge Edwarde if he myght, and alle tho that wolde holde with hym. But anone one of the oste went oute frome the fellawschippe, and tolde Kynge Edwarde alle manere of thynge, and bade hym avoyde, for he was noȝt stronge enoghe to gyff batayle to Markes Montagu; and then anone Kynge Edwarde haysted hym in alle that he myght to the towne of Lynne, and ther he toke schyppynge one Michaelmesse day, in the x. yere of his regne, with Lorde Hastynges, that was the Kynges Chamberleyne, Lorde Say, withe dyverse other knyghtes and squyers, passed and saylede overe the see into Flaunders, to his brother-in-lawe the Duke of Burgeyne, for socoure and helpe, &c.

Here is to knowe, that in the begynnynge of the moneth of Octobre, the yere of oure Lorde a M.CCCC.lxx, the Bisshoppe of Wynchestere, be the assent of the Duke of Clarence and the Erle of Warwyke, went to the toure of Londone, where Kynge Herry was in presone by Kynge Edwardes commawndement, and there toke hyme from his kepers, whiche was noȝt worschipfully arayed as a prince, and noȝt so clenly kepte as schuld seme suche a Prynce; thei hade hym oute, and newe arayed hym, and dyde to hyme grete reverens, and brought hyme to the palys of Westmynster, and so he was restorede to the crowne ageyne, and wrott in alle his lettres, wryttes, and other recordes, the yere of his regne, *Anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti quadragesimo nono, et readempcionis sue regie potestatis primo.* Whereof alle his goode lovers were fulle gladde, and the more parte of peple. Nevere the lattere, before that, at he was putt oute of his reame by Kynge Edwarde, alle Englonde for the more partye hatyd hym, and were fulle gladde to have a chounge; and the cause was, the good Duke of Glouceter was put to dethe, and Jhon Holonde, Duke of Excetre, poysond, and that the Duke of Suffolke, the Lorde Say, Danyelle Trevyliane, and other myscheves pepie that were aboute the Kynge, were so covetouse towarde them selff, and dyde no force of the Kynges honour, ne of his wele, ne of the comone wele of the londe, where Kynge Herry trusted to them that thei schuld do, and labour in tyme of innocence evere for the comone wele, whiche thei dyde contrary to his wille; and also Fraunce, Normandy, Gasgoyne, and Guyane was lost in his tyme. And these were the causes, withe other, that made the peple to gruge ageyns hym, and alle bycause of his fals lordes, and nevere of hym; and the comon peple seyde, yf thei myghte have another Kynge, he schulde gett alle ageyne and amende alle manere of thynges that was amysse, and brynge the reame of Englond in grete prosperite and reste. Nevere the lattere, whenne Kynge Edwarde iiijth regnede, the peple looked after alle the forseide prosperytes and peece, but it came not; but one batayle aftere another, and moche troble and grett losse of goodes amonge the comone peple; as fyrste, the xv. of alle there goodes, and thanne ane hole xv., at yett at every batell to come ferre oute there countreis at ther awne coste; and these and suche othere brought Englonde ryght lowe, and many menne seyd that Kynge Edwarde hade myche blame for hurtynge marchandyse, for in his dayes thei were not in other londes, nore withein Englonde, take in suche reputacyone and credence as thei were afore, &c.

And xxvj. day of Novembre, Kynge Herry callede a parleament at Westmynster, beynge there George the Archebysshoppe of Yorke, Chaunceler of Englonde, whiche [discussed] this proposicion before the Kynge and his Lordes and the comons of that same parleament assemblede, *Revertimini ad me filii revertentes, ego enim vir vester. Jeremie tercio, etc.* And in the moneth of Februarij after, Herry Duke of Excetre, Eadmunde Duke of Somersett, Lorde Jhon of Somersett his brothir, Erle of Ormond, Jasper Erle of Penbroke, brother to the Kynge Herry, and the Erle of Richmonde, with many other knyghtys, and squyres, gentilmen, and yomen, came into Englonde, and entered into ther lordschippys and londe, whiche at the parleament above seide and alle other attaynderes that were made in

Kynge Edwardys tyme were anullede, and Kynge Herry was amitted to his crowne and dignite ageyne, and alle his men to there enherytaunce. And thenne was takene the Erle of Worcetre, whiche was arested and areynede befor Sere Jhon Veere, the Erle of Oxenforde, sonne and heyre to the forseide Erle of Oxenforde whiche was behedede at the Toure Hille, as before wrytene; and so the Erle of Worcetre was juged be suche lawe as he dyde to other menne; and, whenne he was dede, his body and his hede was buryede togedyr at the Blacke Frerys in Londone, with alle the honoure and worschyppe that his frendes coude do. Also Quene Elisabeth, Kynge Edwardes wyf, wiche hade welle vetelede and fortifyed the Toure of Londone, when sche herde that here soevereyne and husbonde was fledde, sche went secretly oute of the toure in to sanctuary at Westmynster, with alle here childrene, and sche hir selff was grete withe childe, and was delyverede ther ryght of a sonne that was callede Prynce Edwarde of Englonde; and ther sche abode stylle in grete troble, tylle Kynge Edwarde came in ageyne tylle hire.

And in the secunde weke of Marche, the xlix. yere of the regne of Kynge Herry the vj^{te}, and in the x. yere of the regne of Kynge Edwarde the iiij^{te}, the same Kynge Edwarde toke his schippynge in Flaunders, and hade withe hym the Lorde Hastynges and the Lorde Say, and ix. c. of Englismenne and three hundred of Flemmynges with hande-gonnes, and sailed toward Englonde, and hade grete troble uppon the see with stormys, and lost a schyppe withe horse; and purpost to have londede in Northfolke, and one of the Erle [of] Oxenfordes brother withe the comons of the cuntre arose up togedere, and put hym abake to the see ageyne. And after that, at he was so trobled in the see, that he was fayne to londe in Yorkeschyre at Ravenys-spore; and there rose ageyns hym alle the cuntre of Holdernes, whose capteyne was a preste, and a persone in the same cuntre called Sere Jhon Westerdale, whiche aftyrwarde for his abused disposycion was casten in presone in the

Marchalse at Londone by the same Kynge Edwarde: for the same preste mett Kynge Edwarde and askede the cause of his landynge; and he answeryde that he came thedere by the Erle of Northumberlondes avyse, and schewede the Erles lettere y-send to hym, &c. undere his seale; and also he came for to clayme the Duchery of Yorke, the whiche was his inherytaunce of ryght, and so passed forthe to the cite of Yorke, where Thomas Clyfford lete hym inne, and ther he was examynede ayenne; and he seyde to the mayre and aldermenne and to alle the comons of the cite, in likewyse as he was afore in Holdernes at his landyng: that was to sey, that [he] nevere wulde clayme no title, ne take uppone honde to be Kynge of Englonde, nor wulde have do afore that tyme, but be excitynge and sturing of the Erle of Warwyke; and therto afore alle peple, he cryed "A! Kynge Herry! A! Kynge and Prynce Edwarde!" and wered ane estryche feder, Prynce Edwardes lyvery. And after this he was sufferd to passe the cite, and so helde his wey southwarde, and no man lettyd hym ne hurtyde hym.

Afterwarde that, he came towarde Notyngham, and ther came to hym Sere William a Stanley with ccc. men, and Sere William Norys, and dyverse other menne and tenauntes of Lorde Hastynges, so that he hade M^l. M^l. menne and moo; and anone aftere he made his proclamacyone, and called hym self Kynge of Englonde and of Fraunce. Thenne toke he his wey to Leycetre, where were the Erle of Warwyke and the Lord Markes his brother with iiij. M^l. menne or moo. And Kynge Edwarde sent a messyngere to them, that yf thai wulde come oute, that he wulde feght withe them. But the Erle of Warwyke hade a letter from the Duke of Clarence, that he schulde not feght withe hym tylle he came hym self; and alle was to the distruccion of the Erle of Warwyke, as it happenede aftyrwarde. Yet so the Erle of Warwyke kept stille the gates of the toune schet, and suffrede Kynge Edwarde passe towarde Londone; and a litelle oute of Warwyke mett the Duke of Clarence with Kynge Edwarde, with vij. M^{l}. men, and ther thei were made acorde, and made a proclamacion forthewithe in Kynge Edwardes name; and so alle covandes of fydelite, made betwyx the Duke of Clarence, and the Erle of Warwyke, Quene Margarete, Prince Edwarde hir sonne, bothe in Englonde and in Fraunce, were clerly brokene and forsakene of the seide Duke of Clarence; whiche, in conclusione, was distruccion bothe to hym and them: for perjury schall nevere have better ende, witheoute grete grace of God. *Vide finem, &c.*

Kyng Herry thenne was in Londone, and the Archebysshoppe of Yorke, withein the Bysschoppys of Londone palece. And on the wennysday next before Ester-day, Kynge Herry and the Archebysschoppe of Yorke with hym roode aboute Londone, and desirede the peple to be trew unto hym; and every manne seide thei wulde. Nevere the latter, Urswyke, recordere of Londone, and diverse aldermen, suche that hade reule of the cyte, commaundede alle the peple that were in harnes, kepynge the cite and Kynge Herry, every manne to goo home to dynere; and in dyner tyme Kynge Edwarde was late in, and so went forthe to the Bisshoppes of Londone palece, and ther toke Kynge Herry and the Archebisschoppe of Yorke, and put theme in warde, the thursday next before Ester-day. And the Archebysschoppe of Cawnterbury, the Erle of Essex, the Lorde Barnesse, and suche other as awyde Kynge Edwarde good wylle, as welle in Londone as in othere places, made as many menne as thei myghte in strengthynge the seide Kynge Edwarde; so then he was a vij. M^{l}. menne, and ther thei refresched welle them self alle that day, and good frydai. And upone Ester evyne, he and alle his oste went toward Barnett, and caryede Kynge Herry withe hym: for he hade understondyng that the Erle of Warwycke and the Duke of Excetre, the Lorde Markes Montagu, the Erle of Oxenforde, and many other knyghtes, squyers, and comons, to the nombre of xx. M^{l}., were gaderide togedere to feghte ageyne Kynge

Edwarde. But it happenede that he withe his oste were enterede into the toune of Barnet, before the Erle of Warwyke and his host. And so the Erle of Warwyke and his host lay witheoute the towne alle nyght, and eche of them loosede gonnes at othere, alle the nyght. And on Ester day in the mornynge, the xiiij. day of Apryl, ryght erly, eche of them came uppone othere; and ther was suche a grete myste, that nether of them myght see othere perfitely; ther thei faughte, from iiij. of clokke in the mornynge unto x. of clokke the fore-none. And dyverse tymes the Erle of Warwyke party hade the victory, and supposede that thei hade wonne the felde. But it hapenede so, that the Erle of Oxenfordes men hade uppon them ther lordes lyvery, bothe before and behynde, which was a sterre withe stremys, wiche [was] myche lyke Kynge Edwardes lyvery, the sunne with stremys; and the myste was so thycke, that a manne myghte not profytely juge one thynge from anothere; so the Erle of Warwikes menne schott and faughte ayens the Erle of Oxenfordes menne, wetynge and supposynge that thei hade bene Kynge Edwardes menne; and anone the Erle of Oxenforde and his menne cryed "treasoune! treasoune!" and fledde awaye from the felde withe viij. c. menne. The Lorde Markes Montagu was agreyde and apoyntede with Kynge Edwarde, and put uppone hym Kynge Edwardes lyvery; and a manne of the Erles of Warwyke sawe that, and felle uppone hyme, and kyllede hym. And whenne the Erle of Warwyke sawe his brothere dede, and the Erle of Oxenforde fledde, he lepte one horse-backe, and flede to a wode by the felde of Barnett, where was no waye forthe; and one of Kynge Edwardes menne hade espyede hyme, and one came uppone hym and kylled hym, and dispolede hyme nakede. And so Kynge Edwarde gate that felde. And ther was slayne of the Erle of Warwykes party, the Erle hym self, Markes Montagu, Sere William Tyrelle, knyghte, and many other. The Duke of Excetre faugth manly ther that day, and was gretely despolede and woundede, and lefte nakede for dede in the felde, and so lay ther from vij. of clokke tille iiij. after none; whiche was take up and brought to a house by a manne of his owne; and a leche brought to hym, and so afterwarde brought in to sancuarij at Westmynster. And one Kynge Edwardes party was slayne the Lorde Crowmwelle, sonne and heyre to the Erle of Essex, Lord Barnes sonne and heyre, Lorde Say, and dyverse other, to the nombre (of bothe partys) iiij. Mˡ. menne. And after that the felde was don, Kynge Edwarde commaundyd bothe the Erle of Warwikes body and the Lord Markes body to be putt in a carte, and returned hym with alle his oste ageyne to Londone; and there commaundede the seide ij. bodyes to be layede in the chyrche of Paulis, one the pavement, that every manne myghte see them; and so they lay iij. or iiij. days, and afterwarde where buryede. And Kynge Herry, beynge in the forwarde durynge the bataylle, was not hurt; but he was broughte ageyne to the Toure of Londone, ther to be kept.

And Quene Marget, and Prince Edwarde hire sonne, with other knygtes, squyres, and other menne of the Kyng of Fraunce, hade navy to brynge them to Englond: whiche, whenne thei were schipped in Fraunce, the wynde was so contrary unto them xvij. dayes and nyghtes, that [thei] myght not come from Normandy with unto Englonde, whiche withe a wynd myght have seylede it in xij. oures; whiche at the xvij. dayes ende one Ester day at the evyne the[i] landed at Weymouthe, and so by lande from Weymouthe the[i] roode to Excetre; and mette withe hire, at Weymouth, Edmunde Duke of Somersett, the Lorde Jhon his brother, brother to Herry Duke of Somerset slayne at Exham, and Curteney the Erle of Devynschyre, and many othere. And on Ester mounday was brought tithingys to them, that Kynge Edwarde hade wonne the felde at Barnett, and that Kynge Herry was put into the Toure ayene. And anone ryghte thei made oute commaundementes, in the Quenes name and the Prynce, to alle the weste countre, and gaderet grete peple, and kepte hire wey towarde the toune of Brystow. And when the Kynge herd that thei were landede, and hade gaderede so myche peple, he toke alle his hoste, and went oute of Londone the wennysday in Ester weke, and manly toke his waye towarde them; and Prynce Edwarde herd therof; he hastede hym self and alle his oste towarde the towne of Glouceter, but he enteryd noȝt into the towne, but held forthe his wey to the towne of Teukesbury, and ther he made a felde noȝt ferre from the ryver of Saverne; and Kynge Edwarde and his oste came uppone hym, the saturday the fourth day of Maij, the yere aforeseide of oure Lorde a M^{l}. cccclxxj., and the xj yere of Kynge Edwarde. And Edmunde Duke of Somersett, and Sere Hugh Curteneye, went oute of the felde, by the whiche the felde was broken; and the moste parte of the peple fledde awaye from the Prynce, by the whiche the feld was loste in hire party. And ther was slayne in the felde, Prynce Edward, whiche cryede for socoure to his brother-in-lawe the Duke of Clarence. Also ther was slayne, Curteney the Erle of Devynschyre, the Lorde Jhon of Somersett, the Lorde Wenloke, Sere Edmunde Hampden, Sere Robart Whytyngham, Sere William Vaus, Sere Nicholas Hervy, Sere Jhon Delvis, Sere William Feldynge, Sere Thomas Fiztharry, Sere Jhon Leukenore, knyghtes; and these were taken and behedede afterwarde, where the Kynge hade pardoned them in the abbey cherche of Teukesbury, by a prest that turnyd oute at his messe and the sacrament in his handys, whanne Kynge Edwarde came with his swerde into the chirche, requyrede hyme by the vertu of the sacrament that he schulde pardone alle tho whos names here folowe; the Duke of Somersett, the Lorde of Seynt Jhones, Sere Humfrey Audeley, Sere Gervis of Clyftone, Sere William Gremyby, Sere William Cary, Sere Thomas Tresham, Sere William Newbrugh, knyghtes, Herry Tresham, Walter Curtenay, Jhon Florey, Lowes Myles, Robart Jacksone, James Gowere, James Delvis, sonne and heire to Sere Jhon Delvis;

whiche, uppone trust of the Kynges pardone yevene in the same chirche the saturday, abode ther stille, where thei myght have gone and savyd ther lyves; whiche one monday aftere were behedede, noȝtwhitstondynge the Kynges pardone. And afterward these ladyes were takene,—Quene Margaret, Prynce Edwardes wyf, the secunde dowghtere of the Erle of Warwykes, the Countasse of Devynschire, Dame Kateryne Vaus. And these were taken, and noȝt slayne; Sere Jhon Fortescu, Sere Jhon Sentlow, Sire Herry Roos, Thomas Ormonde, Doctour Makerell, Edward Fulforde, Jhon Parkere, Jhon Bassett, Jhon Wallys, Jhon Thromere Throgmertone, and dyverse other men. And there was takene grete good, and many good horse that were brought frome beyond the see.

And in the same tyme that the batelle of Teukesbury was, Sere Watere Wrotty[s]le and Geffrei Gate, knygtes of the Erle of Warwykes, were governers of the towne of Caleys, dide sende Sere George Broke knyghte oute of Caleys, with ccc. of soudyours unto Thomas Bastarde Fakynebrygge, that was one the see with the Erle of Warwykes navy, that he schulde the navy save, and goo into Kent, and to reyse alle Kent, to that entente to take Kynge Herry oute of the toure and distroye Kyng Edwarde, yf he myghte; whiche Bastarde came into Kent, to Caunturbury, and he, withe helpe of other gentylmenne, thei reysed up alle Kent, and came to Londone the v. day of Maij the yere aforeseide. But thenne the Lorde Scales, that Kynge Edwarde hade lefte to kepe the cyte, with the Meyre and Aldermen, wulde noȝt suffre the seid Bastarde to come into the cite; for thei had understondynge that Prince Edwarde was dede, and alle his hoste discomfytede: wherefor the Bastarde loosede his gonnes into the citee, and brent at Algate and at Londone brygge; for the whiche brynnynge, the comons of Londone where sore wrothe, and gretely mevyd ayens them: for and thei had noȝt brent, the comons of the cyte wulde have leett them in, magre of the Lorde Scales hede, the Mayre and alle his brethyr. Wherefor the Bastarde and alle his hoste went overe at Kyngstone Brygge, x. myle westwarde, and hade purposed to have distruyt Kynge Edwarde, or to have dryve hym oute of the londe. And if the Bastarde hade holde forthe his way, Kynge Edwarde be possibilyte coude noȝt be powere haf recisted the Bastarde; for the Bastarde hade moo then xx. M^l. goode men welle harnessede, and evere as he went the peple felle to hym. The Lorde Scales, and dyverse othere of Kynge Edwardes counselle that were in Londone, sawe that the Bastarde and his oste went westwarde, and that it schuld be a grettere juperdy to Kynge Edwarde thenne was Barnet felde or Teukesbury felde, (in so moche when the felde of Teukesbury was done, his oste was departede from;) wherefor thei promysed to the Bastarde, and to dyverse other that were aboute hym, and in especyalle to one Nicholas Fauntt, Meyre of Caunterbury, that he schulde entret hym to turne homwarde ageyn. And for as myche as fayre wordes and promyses makes fooles fayne, the Bastarde commaundede alle his oste to turne to Blakhethe ageyn; whiche was distruccion of hyme self and many othere; for anone after, by the Duke of Gloucetre in Yorkeschyre, the seide Bastarde was behedede, noȝtwithstondynge he hade a chartere of pardone; and Nicholas Fauntt was afterward hangede, drawene, and quarterede in Caunterbury. And whene the Bastarde and alle his oste were come to the Blakheth ageyne, in the next mornynge he withe the soudyours and schypmen of Caleis, to the nombre of vj. c. horsemen, stole awaye frome the oste and roode to Rouchester, and frome thens to Sandwyche, where the Bastard abode the Kynges comynge, and the soudyours saylede overe see to Caleys. And whenne the oste understode that ther Capteyne was stole from them, thei kepte them togedere alle a day and a nyght, and thanne every manne departede to his owne howse. And when Kynge Edward herde thereof, he was gladde, &c.

Here is to knowe that Kynge Edwarde made oute commyssyons to many schyres of Englonde; whiche in a x. dayes ther came to hym, where he was, to the nowmbre of xxx. M^l., and came withe the Kynge to Londone, and ther he was worschipfully receyvid. And the same nyghte that Kynge Edwarde came to Londone, Kynge Herry, beynge inwarde in presone in the Toure of Londone, was putt to dethe, the xxj. day of Maij, on a tywesday nyght, betwyx xj. and xij. of the cloke, beynge thenne at the Toure the Duke of Gloucetre, brothere to Kynge Edwarde, and many other; and one the morwe he was chestyde and brought to Paulys, and his face was opyne that every manne myghte see hyme; and in hys lyinge he bledde one the pament ther; and afterward at the Blake Fryres was broughte, and ther he blede new and fresche; and from thens he was caryed to Chyrchesey abbey in a bote, and buryed there in oure Lady chapelle. On the morwe that the Kynge was come to Londone, for the goode servyse that Londone hade done to hym, he made knyghtes of the Aldermenne, Sere Jhon Stokstone, Sire Rauf Verney, Sere Richard Lee, Sere Jhon Yonge, Sere William Tayliour, Sere George Irlande, Sere Jhon Stokere, Sere Mathew Philyppe, Sere William Hamptone, Sere Thomas Stalbroke, Sere Jhon Crosby, Sere Thomas Urswike, Recordere of Londone. And after that, the Kynge and alle his oste roode into Kent to Caunterbury, where many of the countre that where at Blakhethe withe the Bastarde, were arestede and brought befor hym; and ther was hangyd, drawene, and quarteryd, one Fauntt of Caunterbury, that was lovynge to the Erle of Warwyke; whyche entreytede the Bastarde for to departe frome his oste; and many dyverse menne of the cuntre were hanged and put to dethe. Aftere that, the Kynge roode unto Sanwyche, and beside alle the Erle of Warwykes navy there, that the Bastarde hade reule of, and toke the Bastard withe hyme, and returned ageyne to Londone. And immediatly after that was the Lorde Denham and Sere Jhon Fog and dyverse othere made commyssioners, that satt uppone alle Kent, Sussex, and Esex, that were at the Blakhethe, and uppone many othere that were noȝt there; for some manne payed cc. marke, some a c. pownde, and some more and some lesse, so that it coste the porest manne vij. ^{s}. whiche was noȝt worthe so myche, but was fayne to selle suche clothinge as thei hade, and borowede the remanent, and laborede for it aftyrwarde; and so the Kynge hade out of Kent myche goode and lytelle luff. Lo, what myschef groys after insurreccion! &c.

And in [the] same xj. yere of the Kynge, in the begynnynge of of Januarij, there apperyd the moste mervelous blasynge sterre that hade bene seyne. It aroose in the southe este, at ij. of the cloke at mydnyghte, and so contynuede a xij. nyghtes; and it arose ester and ester, tille it aroose fulle este; and rather, and rather; and so whenne it roose playne est, it rose at x. of cloke in the nyght, and kept his cours flamynge westwarde overe Englonde; and it hade a white flaume of fyre fervently brennynge, and it flammede endlonges fro the est to the weste, and noȝt upryght, and a grete hole therin, whereof the flawme came oute of. And aftyre a vj. or vij. dayes, it aroose north-est, and so bakkere and bakkere; and so enduryd a xiiij. nyghtes, fulle lytelle chaungynge, goynge from the north-este to the weste, and some tyme it wulde seme aquenchede oute, and sodanly it brent fervently ageyne. And thenne it was at one tyme playne northe, and thenne it compassede rounde aboute the lodesterre, for in the evynynge the blase went ageyns the southe, and in the mornynge playne northe, and thenne afterwarde west, and so more west, flaumyng up ryghte; and so the sterre contynuede iiij. wekys, tylle the xx. day of Feveryere; and whenne it appered yest in the fyrmament, thenne it lasted alle the nyghte, somewhat discendyng withe a grettere smoke one the heyre. And some menne seyde that the blassynges of the seide sterre was of a myle length. And a xij. dayes afore the vanyschynge therof, it appereryd in the evynynge, and was downe anone within two oures, and evyr of a colour pale stedfast; and it kept his course rysynge west in the northe, and so every nyght, it apperide lasse and lasse tylle it was as lytelle as a hesylle styke; and so at the laste it waneschede away the xx. day of Februarij. And some menne saide that this sterre was seene ij. or iij. oures afore the sunne rysynge in Decembre, iiij. days before Crystynmasse, in the south-west; so by that reasoune it compassed rounde abowte alle the erthe, alle way chaungynge his cours, as is afore reherside.

And in the xij. yere of Kynge Edwarde, he lete calle a parleament to be holdene at Westmynstere, the qwhiche beganne the viij..day after Michaelmasse the same yere; in qwiche parleament was a generalle resumpcion of alle lordschippes, tenamentes, and other possesions and feys grawntede be the Kynge, frome the fyrst day of his regne unto the day aforeseid. Also ther was grauntyde, in the same parleamente, that the x. parte of every mannys good, londes, tenamentes, rentys, and feys, thrugheoute alle Englonde, the valowe therof as for a yere; and also a hole qüynsyme amonge the comons, to be reysede, of goodes and catelle; and also lj. M^{l}. vij. c. $^{\text{li}}$. of money to be raysed, of alle mennys londes, goodes, and other possessions within the reame of Englonde. Also ther was grawntede to the Kynge by the spiritualte, in a convocacion two dymes and prestes markes thurghtoute alle Englonde: whiche alle was grauntede by the desyre of the Kyng, for he seide he wuld overe see and conquere his right and title in Fraunce, Normandy, Gascoyne, and Guyane.

Also in xiij. yere of Kynge Edwarde, ther was a gret hote somere, bothe for manne and beste; by the whiche ther was gret dethe of menne and women, that in feld in harvist tyme men fylle downe sodanly, and unyversalle feveres, axes, and the blody flyx, in dyverse places of Englonde. And also the hete was so grete, that it brent awey whete and alle other greynis and gresse, in southe partyes of the worlde, in Spayne, Portyngale, Granade, and othere, &c. that a bowsshelle of whete was worthe xx.$^{\text{s}}$; and menne were fayne in that cuntre to yeve away there childeryne for to fynde them. But, blessede be Almyghty God, no suche derthe was noȝt in Englonde, ne in Fraunce.

Also in the same yere Womere watere ranne hugely, withe suche abundaunce of watere, that nevyr manne sawe it renne so moche afore this tyme. Womere is callede the woo watere: for Englyschmen, whenne thei dyd fyrst inhabyde this lond, also sone as thei see this watere renne, thei knewe wele it was a tokene of derthe, or of pestylence, or of grete batayle; wherefor thei callede it *Womere;* (for *we* as in Englysche tonge woo, and *mere* is called watere, whiche signyfieth woo-watere;) for alle that tyme thei sawe it renne, thei knewe welle that woo was comynge to Englonde. And this Wemere is vij. myle frome Sent Albons, at a place callede Markayate; and this Wemere ranne at every felde afore specifyede, and nevere so hugely as it dyd this yere, and ranne stylle to the xiij. day of June next yere folowynge. Also ther has ronne dyverse suche other wateres, that betokenethe lykewyse; one at Lavesham in Kent, and another byside Canturbury called Naylborne, and another at Croydone in Suthsex, and another vij. myle a this syde the castelle of Dodley, in the place called Hungerevale; that whenne it betokenethe batayle it rennys foule and trouble watere; and whenne betokenythe derthe or pestylence, it rennyth as clere as any watere, but this yere it ranne ryght trouble and foule watere, &c. Also ther is a pytte in Kent, in Langley Parke: ayens any batayle he wille be drye, and it rayne nevere so myche; and if ther be no batayle towarde, he wille be fulle of watere, be it nevyre so drye a wethyre; and this yere he is drye, &c. Also this same yere, ther was a voyce cryenge in the heyre, betwyx Laicetere and Bambury, uppon Dunmothe, and in dyverse othere places, herde a long tyme cryinge, "Bowes! Bowes!" whiche was herde of xl. menne; and some menne saw that he that cryed soo was a hedles manne; and many other dyverse tokenes have be schewede in Englonde this yere, for amendynge of mennys lyvynge.

Also this yere, or a lytelle before, George the Archebysshoppe of Yorke, and brother to the Erle of Warwyke, was withe Kynge Edwarde at Wynsoure, and huntede, and hade there ryghte good chere, and supposid he hade stonde in grete favour with the Kynge: for the

Kynge seid to the sayde Archebyschope that he wuld come for to hunte and disporte withe hyme in his manere at Moore; whereof he was ryghte glade, and toke his leve and went home to make purvyaunce therfore; and fett oute of Londone, and dyverse other places, alle his plate and othere stuffe that he hade hyde after Barnet felde and Teukysbury feld; and also borowede more stuff of other menne, and purveyde for the Kynge for two or iij. dayes for mete and drynke and logynge, and arayed as rychely and as plesauntly as he coude. And the day afore the Kynge schulde have comyne to the Archebysshoppe, to the seid manere of Moore, whiche the saide Archebisshoppe hade purchasshed and byllede it ryghte comodiusly and plesauntly, the Kynge send a gentylman to the seide Archebisshoppe, and commaundyd him to come to Wyndsoure to hyme; and asone as he came he was arested and apeched of hye treysone, that he schuld helpe the Erle of Oxenforde; and anone ryght he was put to warde. And forthewithe Sere William of Parre, knyghte, and Thomas Vaghan, squyre, withe othere many dyverse gentilmenne and yomen, were sent to the seide manere of Moore; and ther by the Kynges comawndement seysede the seid manere into the Kynges handes, and alle the good that was therin, whiche was worthe xx. M^{l}. ^{li}. or more, and alle other lordschippes and landes that the seid bysshoppe hade withein Englonde, and alle his stuff and rychesse withein alle his lordschippes; and sent the same bisschoppe overe the see to Caleis, and from thens to the castelle of Hammys, and ther he was kepte presonere many a day; and the Kynge alle that seasone toke the prophete of the Archebysshopperyche, &c. And anone after the Kynge brake the seyd Archebysschoppes mytere, in the whiche were fulle many ryche stones and preciouse, and made therof a croune for hyme self. And alle his other juels, plate, and stuff, the Kynge gaff it to his eldest sonne and heyre Prynce Edward: for the sayd Archebisshoppe hade be Chaunselere of Englond many dayes, and he and his brotheres hade the reule of the lande, and hade gaderyde grete rychesse many yeres, whiche in one day was lost; and alle be the hye jugement of ryghtwisnes (as many manne seide be hym) for his grete covetousenes, and had no pyte of Kynge Harry menne, and was cause of many mannys undoynge for Kynge Edwardys sake, if he myghte gete any good by hym. Wherefore *suche goodes as were gaderide with synne, were loste with sorwe.* And also menne supposid for cause he was duble to Kynge Herry, and kepte hym in Londone, where he wulde a be at Westmynstere, he hade a lettere send frome Kynge Edward to kepe hym oute of sanctuary, and he hade his charture send hym; where he had be a trewe manne to Kynge Herry, as the comons of Londone were, Kynge Edward hade not comene into Londone afore Barnet felde, &c.

Also in the xiij. yere of [the] regne of Kynge Edwarde, Sere Jhon Veere, Erle of Oxenforde, that withdrewe hym frome Barnet felde, and rode into Scottlonde, and frome thens into Fraunce assailed, and ther he was worschipfully received. And in the same yere he was in the see withe certeyne schippes, and gate grete good and rychesse, and afterewarde came into westecountre, and, with a sotule poynte of werre, gate and enteryd Seynt Michaels Mount in Cornwayle, a stronge place and a mygty, and can noȝt be geett yf it be wele vytaled withe a fewe menne to kepe hit; for xx^{ti}. menne may kepe it ageyne alle the world. So the seyde Erle, withe xx^{ti}. score menne save iij, the last day of Septembre the yere afore seyd, enteryd fyrst into [the] seyd mount, and he and his menne came doune into cuntre of Cornwale, and hade riyhte good chere of the comons, &c. The Kynge and his counselle sawe that therof myche harme myght growe, &c.; comawndyd Bodrygan, scheff reulere of Cornwayle, to besege the seid mount. And so he dyd; and every day the Erle of Oxenfordes menne came doune undere trewis, spake with Bodrynghan and his menne; and at the laste the seid Erle lacked vytayle, and the seyde Bodrygan suffryd hyme to be vytailed; and anone the Kynge was put in knowlache therof; wherefor the seide Bodrygan was discharged, and Richard Fortescu, squyere for the body, by auctoryte of the Kynge, toke uppone honde to lay sege to the forseide mount, &c. And so gret dyversione roose betwyx Bodrygan and Fortescu, whiche Fortescu was schreve of Cornwayle, &c.; and the seide Fortescu leyed sege, &c. the xx. xiij^{ti}. day of Decembre the yere aforseide; and for the most party every day eche of theme faughte withe othere, and the seide Erles menne kylled dyverse of Fortescu menne; and som tyme whenne thei hade welle y-foughte, thei wulde take a trewis for one day and a night, and some tyme for two or thre dayes, &c. In the whiche trewes eche one of them spake and comaunde with other. The Kynge and his counselle sent unto dyverse that were with the Erle of Oxenforde prevely there pardones, and promysede to them grete yeftes and landes and goodes, by the whiche dyverse of them were turned to the Kynge ayens the Erle; and so in conclusione the Erle hade noȝt passynge ane viij. or ix. menne that wolde holde withe hym; the whiche was the undoynge of the Erle. For ther is proverbe and a seyenge, that *a castelle that spekythe, and a womane that wille here, thei wille be gotene bothe:* for menne that bene in a castelle of warr, that wille speke and entrete withe ther enemyes, the conclusione therof [is] the losynge of the castelle; and a womanne that wille here foly spokyne unto hyre, if sche assent noȝt at one tyme, sche wille at another. And so this proverbe was prevede trewe by the seide Erle of Oxenforde, whiche was fayne to yelde up the seyde mount, and put hyme in the Kynges grace; if he hade noȝt do so, his owne menne wulde have brought hym oute. And so Fortescu enterd into the seyd mount, the xv. day of Februarij. the yere afore sayde, in the whiche was vytayle enogh tylle midsomere aftere. And so was the Erle aforseyd, the Lorde Bemonde, two brotheres of the seide Erles, and Thomas Clyfforde, brought as a presonere to the Kynge; and alle was donne by ther oun foly, &c.

NOTES.

P. 1, *l.* 1.—The Warkworth Chronicle, in Bernard's Catalogue of the Peterhouse manuscripts, taken from James's Eclogæ, is numbered—230. It may be as well to observe that John Bagford mentions a contemporary Chronicle in English MS. of the events of the commencement of Edward's reign, in MS. Tann. Bodl. 453.

—— *l.* 3.—*At the coronacyone.* King Edward was crowned in Westminster Abbey, on the 29th of June 1461. Warkworth's first passage is both imperfect and incorrect, and would form a very bad specimen of the value of the subsequent portions of his narrative; yet we find it transferred to the Chronicle of Stowe. It must, however, be regarded rather as a memorandum of the various creations to the peerage made during Edward's reign, than as a part of the chronicle. Not even the third peerage mentioned, the Earldom of Northumberland, was conferred at the Coronation, but by patent dated 27 May 1464: and the only two Earldoms bestowed in Edward's first year (and probably at the Coronation) were, the Earldom of Essex, conferred on Henry Viscount Bourchier, Earl of Eu in Normandy, who had married the King's aunt, the Princess Isabel of York; and the Earldom of Kent, conferred on William Neville, Lord Fauconberg, one of King Edward's generals at Towton. The former creation is mentioned by Warkworth lower down in his list; the latter is omitted altogether.—J. G. N.

—— *l.* 6.—*The Lord Montagu.* "And then Kyng Edward, concidering the greate feate doon by the said Lord Montagu, made hym Erle of Northumberlond; and in July next folowyng th'Erle of Warwyk, with th'ayde of the said Erle of Northumberland, gate agayn the castell of Bamborugh, wheryn was taken Sir Raaf Gray, which said Ser Raaf was after behedid and quartred at York. Also, in this yere, the first day of May, the Kyng wedded Dame Elizabeth Gray, late wif unto the lord Gray of Groby, and doughter to the Lord Ryvers."—*The London Chronicle,* MS. Cotton. Vitell. A. XVI. fol. 126, r°. The MS. of the London Chronicle, from which Sir Harris Nicolas printed his edition, does not contain this passage. It is almost unnecessary to remark the chronological incorrectness of the above, but it serves to show how carelessly these slight Chronicles were compiled. Cf. MS. Add. Mus. Brit. 6113, fol. 192, r°. and MS. Cotton. Otho, B. XIV. fol. 221, r°.

P. 1, *l.* 9.—*Lord Erle of Pembroke.* William Lord Herbert of Chepstow, the first of the long line of Herbert Earls of Pembroke, was so created the 27th May 1468. His decapitation by the Duke of Clarence at Northampton in 1469, is noticed by Warkworth in p. 7.—J. G. N.

—— *l.* 10.—*Erle of Devynschire.* Humphery Stafford, created Baron Stafford of Southwick by patent 24th April 1464, was advanced to the Earldom of Devon 7th May 1469; but beheaded by the commons at Bridgwater before the close of the same year, as related by Warkworth, *ubi supra.*—J. G. N.

—— *l.* 12.—*Erle of Wyltschyre.* John Stafford, created Earl of Wiltshire, 5th Jan. 1470; he died in 1473.—J. G. N.

The Lorde Gray Ryffyne, Erle of Kent. The Earl of Kent, of the family of Neville, died without male issue, a few months after his elevation to that dignity; and it was conferred on the 30th May 1465, on Edmund Lord Grey de Ruthyn, on occasion of the Queen's coronation. He was cousin-german to Sir John Grey, of Groby, the Queen's first husband. On the same occasion the Queen's son Sir Thomas Grey was created Marquess of Dorset; her father Richard Wydevile lord Ryvers was advanced to the dignity of Earl Ryvers; and her brother Anthony married to the heiress of Scales, in whose right he was summoned to Parliament as a Baron.—J. G. N.

Ibid.—*Sere Thomas Blownt.* This should be *Walter*, created Lord Montjoy 20th June 1465; he died in 1474.—J. G. N.

P. 1, *l.* 13.—*Sere Jhon Hawarde, Lord Hawarde.* This peerage dates its origin, by writ of summons to Parliament, during the short restoration of Henry VI. in 1470, a circumstance more remarkable as "evidence exists that he did not attach himself to the interest of that Prince, being constitued by Edward, in the same year, commander of his fleet." See Sir Harris Nicolas's memoir of this distinguished person (afterwards the first Duke of Norfolk) in Cartwright's History of the Rape of Bramber, p. 189.—J. G. N.

—— *l.* 18.—*He ordeyned a parleament.* This was in November.

—— *l.* 19.—*At whiche were atteynted Kynge Henry.* The act for the attainder of Henry is not printed in the authentic edition of the Statutes of the Realm, published by the Commissioners for the Public Records, but occurs on the Rolls of Parliament, vol. v. pp. 476—82. Cf. MS. Ashm. 21, and 862, xxxv; *Cotton's Abridgment*, pp. 670—1; *Fœdera*, xi. 709. "Ubi indutati et atteyntati sunt Henricus, vocatus nuper Rex Anglie, cum Margareta* consore sua, duces et Somerset et Excetre, cum aliis militibus et nobilibus ad numerum quasi centum personarum." MS. Arundel, Coll. Arm. 5, fol. 169, r°. Cf. *W. Wyrcestre Annales*, pp. 490—2.

P. 2, *l.* 3.—*New Fraunschesses.* Cf. MS. Bib. Cantuar. 51.

—— *l.* 6.—*Also Quene Margrett.* This was in the year 1462. Towards the end of the year Edward appears to have made a tour to the West of England, perhaps for the purpose of seeing how the country was disposed towards him:—"Deinde Rex Edwardus, Cantuariam peregre profectus, partes meridionales pertransiit, ubi Willielmum Episcopum Wintonie de manibus querentium animam ejus eripuit, insectatores suos graviter redarguit, et eorum capitaneos carcerali custodi emancipavit. Bristollie apperians, a civibus ejus cum maximo gaudio honoratissimè receptus est."—MS. Arundel, Coll. Arm. 5, fol. 169, rº. This Chronicle in the College of Arms was first used, as far as I know, for an historical purpose, in a MS. note in a copy of Carte's History of England in the Bodleian Library, where it is referred to on the important testimony of the death of Henry VI. Mr. Black quotes it in the *Excerpta Historica*, but its value does not appear to be fully appreciated by that author; it is the diary of a contemporary writer on the side of the House of York, and extends to the execution of the Bastard of Fauconberg, and Edward's celebration of the feast of Pentecost which took place immediately afterwards.

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* I find, however, in the Pipe Roll of 1 Edw. IV. an entry of £21. 13*s.* for property at Bristol to "Margareta nuper dicta Regina Angliæ," granted to her by Edward; this property, it appears, formerly belonged to Queen Johanna, and "per dominum Regem nunc concess' in partem recompensacionis."

The following very curious account of the pageant which received Edward at Bristol is from a MS. in Lambeth Palace, Nº. 306, fol. 132, rº. I am indebted for it to the Rev. S. R. Maitland, F.R.S., Librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had the extreme kindness, at my request, to send me a transcript.

" *The receyvyng of Kyng Edward the iiijth. at Brystowe.*

" First, at the comyng inne atte temple gate, there stode Wylliam Conquerour, with iij. lordis, and these were his wordis :—

'Wellcome Edwarde! oure son of high degre;
Many yeeris hast thou lakkyd owte of this londe—
I am thy forefader, Wylliam of Normandye,
To see thy welefare here through Goddys sond.'

" Over the same gate stondyng a greet Gyant delyveryng the keyes.

" *The Receyvyng atte Temple Crosse next following ;—*

" There was Seynt George on horsbakke, uppon a tent, fyghtyng with a dragon ; and the Kyng and the Quene on hygh in a castell, and his doughter benethe with a lambe ; and atte the sleying of the dragon ther was a greet melody of aungellys."

Sir Bawdan (or Baldwin) Fulford was brought before the King, and beheaded at this place on the ninth of September; his head was placed upon Castle Gate.—Rot. C. 8. Mus. Brit.

P. 2, *l.* 7.—*And other lordes.* Among them was Thomas Lord Roos. *Paston Correspondence,* vol. I. p. 219.

—— *l.* 7-8.—*Certeyne castelles in Northumberlond.* See two contemporary accounts of the sieges of these castles, edited by Mr. Black, in the *Excerpta Historica,* p. 365. Cf. *W. Wyrcestre,* p. 493—449.

—— *l.* 16.—*Sere Peris le Brasylle.* See a curious document printed by Sir Henry Ellis, from Cart. Antiq. Cotton. XVII. 10. in the second series of his collection of Original Letters, vol. I. p. 131.

P. 3, *l.* 7.—*Excepte a castelle in Northe Wales called Harlake.* I cannot resist the temptation of taking the following lines from the poems of Lewis Glyn Cothi, relative to the future siege of Harlech castle—

"Doves â'i wyr, divasw wedd,
Dareni daiar Wynedd;
Jarll, ond ev a'r llu, nid â
Ar wddv Eryri Wyddva.
Dau er ei chael dri a chwech,—
Un dân harddlun yw Harddlech.
Tynu â gwyr tònau gwin
Peiriannus, val mab brenin.
Uchel ewri a *chlariwns,*
A tharvu gwyr â thwrv *gwns;*
Saethu 'mhob parth saith mil pen,
A'u bwa o bob ywen:
Clod wellwell, cludaw allan
Goed mawr a fagodau mân;
O wartha 'r rhai'n, hyd yr hwyr,
Arvogion a'u rhyvagwyr.
Trwy'r tair gwart Herbart hirborth
Tỳnu'r pen capten i'r porth.
Ennillodd, eu ewyllys,
Y brenin lech Bronwen Lys.
Hywel Davydd ab Jevan ab Rhys."

As no translation is added in the published works of Glyn Cothi, it may be as well to give one here;—

> " He tamed, in no trifling manner,
> The lofty heights of Gwyneth;*
> No earl, save him and his followers, could ever mount
> Upon the neck of Snowdon, the Alpine of Eryri.†
> There would climb up, to gain the ascent,
> Now three,—now six men, all at once;
> One beautifully formed fiery blaze is Harddlech! ‡
> Men drawing from men waves of wine,— §
> Loud the shouting—loud the blasts of clarions;
> Scattering of men, thundering of guns;
> Arrows flying in every quarter from seven thousand men,
> Using bows made of the yew.
> Bravo! bravo! they bring out large trees and faggots;
> They pile them up, and, behind the pile,
> Armed men are placed to continue there 'til night.
> Then Herbert, through the three wards,
> Brings forth the head captain in the porch.
> Thus King Edward, as it were, with one volition,
> Gained possession of Bronwen's Court."||

This place was possessed in 1468 by Dafydd ap Jeuan ap Einion,—a strong friend of the house of Lancaster, distinguished for his valour and great stature. He was besieged here by William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, after a march through the heart of our Alps, attended with incredible difficulties; for in some parts, the soldiers were obliged to climb; in others, to precipitate themselves down the rocks; and, at length, invested a place till that time deemed impregnable.

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* North Wales.

† The mountains surrounding Snowdon.

‡ This couplet is metaphorical of the rapidity of Herbert's motions.

§ i. e. streams of blood.

|| The castle was anciently called Twr Bronwen, after Bronwen, daughter of Llyr (King Lear), and aunt to the great Caractacus. See *The Cambro-Briton*, ii. 71. She is the subject of an old Welsh Romance.

The Earl committed the care of the siege to Sir Richard, a hero equal in size to the British commandant. Sir Richard sent a summons of surrender, but Dafydd stoutly answered that he had kept a castle in France so long, that he made all the old women in Wales talk of him; and that he would keep this so long, that all the old women in France should also talk of him. He at last surrendered, and Herbert had a hard struggle with Edward's barbarous policy to save the noble defender's life.—*Pennant's Tour in Wales*, vol. II. p. 121-2. Margaret of Anjou found refuge in this Castle after the unfortunate battle of Northampton; and it has been conjectured that the song of "Farwel iti Peggy Ban" was composed on the occasion of her quitting it. On the peculiar advantages of the position of this castle, see *The Cambrian Traveller's Guide*, p. 574.

P. 3, *l.* 15-6.—*An hole quinzisme and disme.* See *Rot. Parl. V.* 497. This parliament met on the 29th of April, and continued to the following year.

—— *l.* 16.—*Whereof the peple grocehede sore.* The taxes which Edward appears to have levied were most onerous on the people, and partly served to pay for his extravagant luxury, which he seems to have carried to the extreme.—*Cambrian Register*, I. 78.

—— *l.* 17-8.—*The Erle of Warwyke was sent into Fraunce.* Gagvin, in his Chronicon Franciæ, informs us that the Earl was received by the King Louis XI. at Rouen with great pomp; had secret conferences with him for twelve days consecutively; and was loaded with presents when he took his departure. It is curious to observe that the author of the fragment printed by Hearne refers to a French writer on this portion of his history.

—— *l.* 21.—*The Kynge was wedded to Elizabethe Gray.* See a most quaint narrative of this marriage in William Habington's *Historie of Edward the Fourth*, fol. 1640, pp. 33—35. I find it stated in one place (MS. Harl. 2408.) that Edward's mother attempted to hinder the marriage, by causing " another contract to be alleadged made by him with the Lady Elizabeth Lucy, on whom he had begot a child befor." She seems, indeed, to have been most hostile to this imprudent and unpopular connexion :—

"Married a woman? married indeed!
Here is a marriage that befits a king!
It is no marvaile it was done in hast:
Here is a bridall, and with hell to boote,
You have made worke."

Heywood's First Part of Edward IV. Sig. A. ij.

The author of Hearne's fragment, however, speaks in praise of the marriage,—"Howbeit that lewde felow that drew thois last brent cronicles, abusid himsel gretely in his disordrid wriȝting for lakke of knowlege." (P. 293.)

P. 3, *l.* 23.—*Slayne at Yorke felde.* Sir John Grey was slain at the second battle of St. Alban's, fought on the 17th Feb. 1460–1.—J. G. N.

—— *l.* 30.—*The Bysshope of Excetre.* George Neville, made Chancellor the 25th July 1460. He was translated to the archbishopric of York, 17th June 1465.—J. G. N.

—— *l.* 31.—*The Bysshope of Bath.* Robert Stillington. He did not receive the seal until the 8th June 1468, previously to which Robert Kirkham had been Keeper.—J. G. N.

P. 4, *l.* 2.—*Kyng Edwarde dide that he myght to feble the Erles powere.* We have, however, in an act passed subsequently to this period, an especial clause that the same act "be not prejudiciall or hurtyng unto Richard Neville, Erle of Warrewyk."—*Rot. Parl.* 4 *Edw. IV.*

—— *l.* 8.—*Gadred a grete peple of the northe contre.* The following very curious document is from a MS. in the College of Arms (L. 9):—

"*Anno Edwardi quarti quarto et mensis Maij die xxvij. scilicet in die san*[*c*]*te Trinitatis.*

"The Kyng lay in the Palois of York, and kept his astate solemply; and tho there create he Sir John Nevelle, Lord Mowntage, Erle of Northumberland. And than my lorde of Warrewike toke upon hym the jorney, by the Kynges commandement and auctoritee, to resiste the Rebellions of the Northe, acompanyed with hym my sayde Lorde of Northumberland his brother.

"Item, the xxiij^{ti}. day of Juyne, my saide Lorde of Warrewike, with the puissaunce, cam before the castelle of Alwike, and ad it delivered by appointement; And also the castell of Dunstanboroughe, where that my said Lord kept the feest of Saint Johñ Baptist.

"Item, my said Lorde of Warrewike, and his broder Erle of Northumberland, the xxv. day of Juyn, leyede siege unto the Castelle of Bamburghe, there within being Sir Rauf Grey, with suche power as attendid for to keepe the said castelle ayen the power of the Kinges and my said Lord, as it apperith by the heroudes reporte, by the whiche my Lord sent to charge them to delyvere it under this forme, as ensewithe; Chester, the Kinges heroude, and Warrewike the heroude, had this commaundement, as foloweth,—to say unto Sir Rauf Gray, and to other that kept his Rebelliouse oppynyon, that they shule delivere that place contynent aftyr that summacion, and every man for the tyme being disposed to receyve the Kynges grace, my said Lord of Warrewike, the Kinges lieutenant, and my Lord of Northumbreland, Wardeyn of themarches, grauntith the Kyng['s] grace and pardon, body, lyvelodes, reservyng ij. persounes, is understoude, Sir Humfrey Neville and Sir Rauf Grey, thoo tweyn to be oute of the Kinges grace, without any redempcion. Than the answere of Sir Rauf Grey followithe unto the said heroudes, he clerely determynyng withinne hymself to liffe or to dye within the said place; the heroudes, according to my Lordes commandement, charged hym with all inconveniences that by possible myght fall in offence ayenst Allemyghty God, and sheding of bloode; the heroude saying in this wise, 'My Lordes ensurithe yow, upon their honour, to susteyne siege before yowe these vij. yeres, or elles to wynne yowe.'

"Item, my sayde Lorde Lieutenant, and my Lord Wardeyn, hath yeven us ferther comaundement to say unto yowe, if ye deliver not this Juelle, the whiche the king our most dradde soverain Lord hath so gretly in favour, seing it marcheth so nygh hys awncient enemyes of Scotland, he specially desirethe to have it, hoole, unbroken, with ordennaunce; if ye suffre any greet gunne laide unto the wal, and be shote and prejudice the wal, it shall cost yowe the Chiftens hede; and so proceding for every gunne shet, to the leest hede of any personne within the said place. Than the saide Sir Rauf Grey deperted from the saide heroud, ant put hym in devoir to make deffence.

"And than my Lorde lieutenant had ordennede alle the Kinges greet gonnes that where charged at oons to shute unto the said Castelle, Newe-Castel the Kinges greet gonne, and London the second gonne of irne; the whiche betyde the place, that stones of the walles flewe unto the see; Dysyon, a brasin gonne of the Kinges, smote thouroughe Sir Rauf Grey's chamber oftentymes; Edward and Richard Bombartell, and other of the Kinges ordennaunce, so occupied by the ordonnaunce of my said Lord, with men of armes and archirs, wonne the castelle of Bamburg with asawte, mawgrey Sir Rauf Grey, and tooke hym, and brought hym to the Kynge to Doncastre, and there was he execut in this fourme as followith. My lorde Erle of Worcestre, Connestable of Englond, sitting in jugement, told hym jugement, and remambrid hym, saying unto hym; "Sir Rauf Grey, thou hast take the ordir of Knyghthode of the Batthe, and any soe taking that ordir ought to kepe his faithe the whiche he makes; therfor remembre the[e] the lawe! wilt thou shall procede to jugement? thees maters shewith so evidently agayn the, that they nedithe not to examyn the of them, by certein persounes of the Kinges true subgettes, the whiche thou hast wounded, and shewithe here that thou canst not deny this; thou hast drawen the with force of armes unto the Kyng oure most natural soverain Lorde, the whiche tho wotest wele yave unto the suche trust, and in suche wise mynystred his grace unto the, that thou haddist his castels in the Northe partie to kepe; thou hast betraied Sir John Asteley Knyght, and brother of the gartier, the whiche remaignethe in the hand of the Kynges oure soverain Lord enemyes in Fraunce.

"Item, thou hast withstoud and maade fences ageynst the Kynges maiestie, and his lieutenant the worthy Lorde my broder of Warrwike; it apperith by the strookes of the greet gunnes in the Kyng walles of his castell of Bamburghe. For the[se] causes, dispost the to suffre thy penaunce aftyr the lawe. The Kyng had ordenned that thou shuldest have hadd thy sporys striken of by the hard heles, with the hand of the maister cooke, that whiche is here redy to doo, as was promysed at the tyme that he tooke of thy spurres; he said to yee, as ys accustumed, that ' And thou be not true to thy soverain Lord, I shal smyte of thy sporys with this knyf herd by the helys,' and so shewne hym the maistre cooke redy to doo his office, with apron and his knyff.

" Item, Sir Rauff Grey, the Kyng had ordenned here, thou maist see, the Kynge of armes and heroudes, and thine own propre cote of armes, that whiche they shuld teere of thy body, and so thou shuldist as wel be disgraded of thy worshipp, noblesse, and armes, as of the order of Knyghthode: and also here is an oder cote of thin armes reversed, the which thou shuldest have werne of thy body, going to that dethe warde, for that belongethe aftyr the lawe. Notwithstanding, of the disgrading of knygthode, and of thine armes, et noblesse, the King pardons that for thy noble grauntfader, the whiche suffrid trouble for the Kynges moost noble predecesseurs.* Than, Sir Rauf Grey, this shal be thy penaunce,—thou shalt goo on thy feet unto the towneseend, and there thou shalt be laide downe and drawen to a scaffold maade for thee, and that thou shalt have thyne hede smite of thi body, to be buriede in the freres; thi heede where it pleased the Kyng."

P. 4, *l.* 11—12.—*Were takene and afterward behedede.* " Quintodecimo die mensis Maij, apud Exham, decapitati sunt Dux Somersett, Edmundus Fizthu miles, Bradshaw, Wauter Hunt, Blac Jakis. Decimo-septimo die mensis Maii, apud Novum-Castrum, decapitati sunt Dominus de Hungarforde, Dominus Roos, Dominus Thomas Fynderum, Edwardus de la Mare, Nicholaus Massam. Apud Medetham, xviij^{o} die mensis Maii, decapitati sunt Dominus Philippus Wentworth, Willielmus Penyngton, Warde de Topcliff, Oliverus Wentworth, Willielmus Spilar, Thomas Hunt, *le foteman Regis Henrici.* Apud Eboracum, xxv^{e} die mensis Maii, decapitati sunt Dominus Thomas Husye, Thomas Gosse, Robertus Merfynn, Johannes Butlerus, Rogerus Water, *janitor Regis Henrici,* Thomas Fenwyke, Robertus Cocfeld, Willielmus Bryte, Willielmus Dawsonn, Johannes Chapman. Apud Eboracum, xxviij^{o} die mensis Maii, decapitati sunt Johannes Elderbek, Ricardus Cawerum, Johannes Roselle, Robertus Conqueror."—*MS. Arundel, Coll. Arm.* 5, fol. 170, r^{o}.

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* Sir Ralph Grey, of Wark, Heton, and Chillingham (lineal ancestor of the Earls of Tankerville, as well as of the present Earl Grey) was the grandson of Sir Thomas Grey, beheaded at Southampton with the Earl of Cambridge, Aug. 5, 1415. See the whole-sheet pedigree of Grey in Raine's North Durham.—J.G.N.

P. 4, *l.* 26.—*Chaunged the coyn of Englonde.* This whole passage is transcribed by Stowe, nearly word for word, in his Chronicle, pp. 418—19. "Mense Octobris, fecit Rex proclamare Radingiæ, et per totam Angliam, quod unum nobile Regis Henrici valeret viij. s. iiij. d., fecitque novum Cunagium turri Londoniæ, ad summum dampnum magnatum regni."—*W. Wyrcestre Annales,* p. 500. Cf. *Archæologia,* XV. 165; and Sir Henry Ellis's edition of *Grafton's Continuation of Harding's Chronicle,* p. 437.

—— *l.* 3.—*And also he made angelle noblys of vj. s. viij. d.* i. e. he made the noble of that price, and changed its name to that of angel; *Hearne's Fragment,* p. 294. A very short time previously the noble was of comparatively trifling value.—*MS. Ch. Ant. Eg.* 88.

P. 5, *l.* 2.—*A blacke monke of Abyngtone.* In the curious fragment printed by Hearne, at the end of the Chronicle of Sprottus, we are informed that William Cantlow was the name of this rascal. Henry's capture, in the MS. N^{o} 5, in the College of Arms, is placed under the year 1465:—"Hoc et anno, circiter festum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, captus est Henricus Sextus, nuper Rex Anglie, du[c]tus et publice per Chepam Londonie, cum aliis secum captis; ductus usque ad Turrim Londonie, ibique honorifice commendatus custodie mansit." Fol. 170, v^{o}.

P. 5, *l.* 3.—*Bungerley Hyppyngstones.* This was a ford, obtained by stepping-stones, across the river Ribble.—J. G. N.

—— *l.* 4.—*Thomas Talbott, sonne and heyre to Sere Edmund Talbot of Basshalle.* Sir Edmund Talbot, of Bashall, in the parish of Mitton, co. York, died in the 1st Edw. IV. His son, Sir Thomas, was then under age (pedigree in Whitaker's History of Craven, 2d edit. 1812, p. 25); but there can be little doubt that, before his traitorous achievement, he had married Alice, daughter of Sir John Tempest, of Bracewell, under whose protection the unfortunate King was then living. Beside the present reward mentioned in the ensuing note, Sir Thomas Talbot appears to have received a grant of a yearly pension of 40*l.*, which was confirmed by Richard III. (pedigree, as above). He survived to the 13th Hen. VII. His father-in-law, Sir John Tempest, was Sheriff of Yorkshire in 18 and 37 Henry VI. (see pedigree of Tempest in Whitaker's Craven, p. 80.)—J. G. N.

—— *l.* 4.—*Thomas Talbott.* In the Issue Rolls of the Exchequer of 5 Edw. IV. are the statements of monies paid to this gentleman and others for taking Henry, late *de facto et non de jure* King of England. It appears that Sir James Haryngton and Sir John Tempest were also concerned in the capture; but the fact of Sir Thomas Talbot being the chief actor is confirmed by the amount of their relative rewards, he receiving 100*l.* and they each 100 marks. Their "costs and charges," amounting to 100 marks, were also paid. John Levesey also received a reward of 20*l.*, and William Rogers of Serne and David Colinley, valets of the King's chamber, together 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* On the 9th of July 1465, Edward, in consideration of "magnam et laboriosam diligentiam suam circa captionem et retinentiam magni proditoris, rebellis, et inimici nostri Henrici nuper vocati Regis Henrici Sexti, per ipsum Jacobum factum," gave to Sir James Haryngton a grant of Thurland Castle and other lands, formerly belonging to Richard Tunstell,* a partizan of Henry.—*Fœdera*, XI. 548.

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* The great extent of these possessions may be seen in the Great Roll of the Pipe for 1 Edw. IV. com. Westmorland.

" My ancestor, Sir James Haryngton, did once take prisoner, with his party, this poor prince; for which the House of York did graunt him a parcel of lands in the northern counties, and which he was fool enough to lose again, after the battle of Bosworth, when King Henry the Seventh came to the crown."—*Haryngton's Nugæ Antiquæ, by T. Park,* vol. II. pp. 385–86. Cf. *Rot. Parl.* V. 584, and *Devon's Issue Rolls of the Exchequer*, p. 489.

[Sir James Harrington was of Brierley near Barnsley; a younger brother of Sir John Harrington, of Hornby, who had fallen on the Yorkists' side at the battle of Wakefield in 1460; their father, Sir Thomas, dying also of his wounds the day after the same battle. Sir James had, in 6 Edw. IV. a grant of 340*l.* from the issues of the county of York. Both he and his younger brother, Sir Robert Harrington, were attainted after the battle of Bosworth in 1 Hen. VII. See further respecting him in Hunter's Deanery of Doncaster, vol. ii. p. 403; to which it may be added that it is probably of him that Leland speaks: " There was a younger brother of the Haryngtons that had in gifte Horneby Castelle." (Itin. viii. f. 109 a.), that is, he had it for a time to the prejudice of his nieces, the heirs of his elder brother.—J. G. N.]

P. 5, *l.* 5.—*Jhon Talbott his cosyne of Colebry.* That is, of Salesbury, in the parish of Blackburn, co. Lancaster; see Whitaker's Whalley, 3d edit. 1818, p. 432. A yearly fee of twenty marks was granted by King Edward in consideration of the good and faithful service of Johannes Talbot de Salebury, Esq. " in captura magni adversarii sui Henrici," until he received a grant of lands or tenements to the like value; and the same annuity was confirmed to his son Sir John Talbot, of Salebury, by King Richard the Third. See the grant of the confirmation, dated at York 6th June 1484, printed in Baines's History of Lancashire, vol. i. p. 421.—J. G. N.

—— *l.* 6.—*Whiche disseyvide*, i. e. which King Henry, deceived.

—— *l.* 6.—*Wadyngtone Hall.* Waddington is a chapelry within the parish of Mitton, little more than a mile from Bashall. It had belonged to the Tempests of Bracewell from the time of Edward I. Dr. Whitaker says (Hist. of Craven, p. 25), " Waddington Hall, though constructed of strong old masonry, has nearly lost all appearance of antiquity. But one room contains the name of King Henry's chamber." In the History of Whalley, p. 473, will be seen an etching of the ruins. At Bracewell also, (which is now likewise in ruins,) in the older stone portion of the house, " is an apartment called King Henry's Parlour; undoubtedly one of the retreats of Henry VI." (Ibid. p. 82.) At Bolton, in the same neighbourhood, after describing a very ancient hall, and its canopy over the high table, Dr. Whitaker adds, " In this very hall, and probably under the same canopy, that unhappy monarch ate the bread of affliction during a retreat, as it is reported by tradition, of several months. An adjoining well retains the name of King Harry, who is said to have directed it to be dug and walled, in its present shape, for a cold bath." It is at Bolton where there are still preserved three relics of King Henry, a boot, a glove, and a spoon; figures of which are engraved in the Gentleman's Magazine for June 1785, and again in the History of Craven, p. 106. The boot and glove are remarkably small, and show, in Dr. Whitaker's words, that " in an age when the habits of the great, in peace as well as war, required perpetual exertions of bodily strength, this unhappy prince must have been equally contemptible from corporeal and from mental imbecility."—J. G. N.

P. 5, *l*. 7, 8.—*His lege bownde to the styrope.* One author, and as far as I have been able to find he is the only authority for it, says,that Henry was immediately cast into chains.—*Matthæi Palmesii Pisani Continuatio Chronici Eusebiani*, ed. Venetiis, 1483, fol. 155, vo. According to some writers, Henry's two religious friends, Drs. Manning and Bedle, were the only companions of his misfortunes.—Cf. *Monstrelet, IV.* 182.

——, *l*. 9.—*By the Lorde Harberde.* " Et castrum forte in Wallia per dominum Harbarde captum est, et Dominus Ricardus Tunstalle, cum ceteris ibi inventis, captus est, et in Turri Londonie clausus, qui tum in breve gratiam a Rege consecutus est. Duo nobiles ex illic capti decollati sunt."—*MS. Arundel, Coll. Arm.* 5, fol. 171, ro. There is a grant to Lord Herbert for his services in *Rot. Pat.* 3 Edw. IV.

P. 5, *l.* 16.—*By lawe padowe.* I do not understand the meaning of the word "Padowe," except it be Paduan.

—— *l.* 22.—*And in vij. yere.* An anonymous scribbler says, that in this year there was, throughout England, a hurricane (*vehementissimus ventus*) which lasted for more than thirty-six hours.—*MS. Arundel, Mus. Brit.* 220. fol. 279, v°.

P. 6, *l.* 4.—*Were takene for treasoune and behedede.* See a valuable and curious note by Mr. Stapleton, in his volume of the Plumpton Correspondence, pp. 18, 19. This happened "circiter octavum Epiphanie."—*MS. Arundel, Coll. Arm.* 5, fol. 171, r°.

—— *l.* 19.—*xliij M*l. So in MS., but probably a clerical error for xiiij. Ml.

—— *l.* 25.—*A playne byyonde Banbury towne.* Danesmoor is in the parish of Edgecote, near three hills of unequal size, and in their relative position approaching a triangle; "the spot now called Danesmoȏr is a small plantation of a few acres, but the name at this period had doubtless a much more extended application."—*Baker's Northamptonshire,* I. 500. This battle is commemorated in "Marwnad Thomas ab Rhosser, arglwydd Herast" of Lewis Glyn Cothi. Three things ought to be remarked, viz. that Herbert, who was beheaded, only made a codicil to his will, and not a new one, as commonly stated; that the battle took place on the Monday—

"Dyw Llun y bu waed a lladd:"

and that Herbert and his fellow captives were executed on the Wednesday—

"Marchog a las ddyw Merclur,"

as Gutto Glyn remarks in his poetical language. Cf. MS. Cotton. Otho, B. XIV. fol. 221, v°, where an erroneous date is given to the battle,—*in quo cæsi multa milia.* In MS. Tann. Bodl. 2, fol. 104, v°. we find the field called "prelium ad Hegecote, seu Danysmore, prope Banburiam, dictam *Banbery-Feld,* seu *Hegecote-Fyld.*" Hearne's fragment informs us that the land on which the battle was fought belonged to a person named Clarell. In the valuable collection of manuscripts at the seat of W. Ormsby Gore, Esq. are some verses in the Welsh language on this battle; see Sir Thomas Phillipps's Catalogue of these Manuscripts, p. 1.

P. 6. l. 28, 29.—The names of the gentylmen that were slayne. See another and more extensive list in *Itinerarium Willelmi de Worcestre,* p. 120-1, although the major part of this catalogue differs from his. Worcester says that at least 168 of the nobility and gentry of Wales fell in this battle, and 1500 men on the English side.

—— *l.* 30, 31.—*Herry Organ, sonne and heyre,* i. e. the son and heir of Henry Organ.

P. 7, l. 5.—Sere Herry Latymere. Rather Sir Henry Neville, paternally a cousin-german of the great Earl of Warwick, and whose mother was Lady Elizabeth Beauchamp, half-sister to the heiress Anne, whom the Earl of Warwick married. Leland, in describing the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick, says: "There lyeth buried (as some saye) in the west end of our Lady Chapell one of the Nevilles L. Latemer, slayne at Edgcote field by Banbury (as some suppose), but there is neither tombe nor scripture seene. This was Sir Hen. Neville, sonne and heire of George Neville, Lord Latemer. But he was never Lord, for he dyed before his father. This Henry Neville was grandfather to the Lord Latemer now livinge." The fact of Sir Henry Neville, and of his brother-in-law John Dudley, also slain in the same battle, having been buried in the Beauchamp Chapel, is proved by the will of his mother Lady Latimer, who on the field of Edgcote lost her only son and the husband of her daughter. Before the close of the same year, (on the 30th Dec.) her husband died insane. Nichols's Beauchamp Monuments, 4to. p. 40.—J. G. N.

—— *l.* 7.—Sir John Conyers of Hornby, com. Ebor. Kt.

—— *l.* 8 —*Olivere Audley, squyere.* For Audley read Dudley. He was a son of John Lord Dudley, K.G. and brother of that John who was grandfather of John Duke of Northumberland. Beauchamp Monuments, p. 39.—J. G. N.

—— *l.* 11-12.—" Hic W. Harberde, gravissimus et oppressor et spoliator ecclesiasticorum et aliorum multorum per annos multos, hunc tandem, justo Dei judicio pro suis sceleribus et nequiciis, recepit mercedem. Die Sabbati proximo ante assumpcionem beatissime semper Virginis Marie, captus est Dominus de Rywaus, cum domino Johanne filio suo, et, juxta castrum de Kelingworthe, pariter decollati sunt."—MS. Arundel, Coll. Arm. fol. 171 r°.

P. 7, *l.* 19.—*A vilage bysyde Northampton.* Stowe calls this village Ulney; that is, Olney, a market-town in Buckinghamshire, but within twelve miles of Northampton.—J. G. N.

—— *l.* 31.—*A generalle pardone.* On the 27th of October, Henry Percy of Northumberlond, who had been confined in the Tower, under Lord Dudley, Constable, took the oaths of allegiance and was released.—*Fœdera,* XI. 649.

P. 8, *l.* 4.—I here insert a very curious and valuable document from a MS. Roll in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, N°. 1160, m. 2, d°, et 1, d°.

"*The duc of Clarance, th'archebisshoppe of Yorke, and th'erle of Warwyk.*

"Right trusty and welbelovid, we grete you welle. And welle ye witte that the Kyng oure soveregne lordys true subgettes of diverse partyes of this his realme of Engelond have delivered to us certeyn billis of Articles, whiche we suppose that ye have in thoos parties, rememberynge in the same the disceyvabille covetous rule and gydynge of certeyne ceducious persones; that is to say, the Lord Ryvers, the Duchesse of Bedford his wyf, Ser William Herbert, Erle of Penbroke, Humfrey Stafford, Erle of Devenshire, the Lordis Scalis and Audeley, Ser John Wydevile, and his brethern, Ser John Fogge, and other of theyre myschevous rule opinion and assent, wheche have caused oure seid sovereyn Lord and his seid realme to falle in grete poverte of myserie, disturbynge the mynystracion of the lawes, only entendyng to thaire owen promocion and enrichyng. The seid trewe subgettis with pitevous lamentacion callyng uppon us and other lordes to be meanes to oure seid sovereyne Lord for a remedy and reformacion; werfore we, thenkyng the peticioun comprised in the seid articles resonabyll and profitable for the honoure and profite of oure seid sovereyn Lord and the comune welle of alle this his realme, fully purposed with other lordis to shewe the same to his good grace, desiryng and pray you to dispose and arredie you to accompayneye us thedir, with as many persones defensabyly arrayede as y can make, lettyng you wete that by Goddis grace we entende to be at Caunterbury uppon Sonday next comyng. Wretyn undre oure signettis and signe manuell the xij^th day of Juyll, A^o 1469.

"*In three the next articles undrewretin are comprisid and specified the occasions and verry causes of the grete inconveniencis and mischeves that fall in this lond in the dayes of Kyng Edward the ij^de, Kyng Ric' the ij^de, and Kyng Henry the vj^te, to the distruccion of them, And to the gret hurt and empoverysshyng of this lond.*

"First, where the seid Kynges estraingid the gret lordis of thayre blood from thaire secrete Councelle, And not avised by them; And takyng abowte them other not of thaire blood, and enclynyng only to theire counselle, rule and advise, the wheche persones take not respect ne consideracion to the wele of the seid princes, ne to the comonwele of this lond, but only to theire singuler lucour and enrichyng of themself and theire bloode, as welle in theire greet possessions as in goodis; by the wheche the seid princes were so enpoverysshed that they hadde not sufficient of lyvelode ne of goodis, wherby they myght kepe and mayntene theire honorable estate and ordinarie charges withynne this realme.

"Also the seid seducious persones, not willing to leve the possessions that they hadde, caused the seid princes to lay suche imposicions and charges as welle by way of untrue appecementes to whom they owed evill wille unto, as by dymes, taxis and prestis noblis and other inordinat charges uppon theire subjettes and commons, to the grete grugge and enpoveryssyng of them, wheche caused alle the people of this lond to grugge.

"And also the seid seducious persones by theyre mayntenaunces, where they have rule, wold not suffre the lawes to be executed, but where they owe favour moved the seid princes to the same; by the wheche there were no lawes atte that tyme deuly ministred, ne putt in execucion, wheche caused gret murdres, roberyes, rapes, oppressions, and extorcions, as well by themself, as by theyre gret mayntenaunces of them to be doon, to the gret grugge of all this lande.

"Hit is so that where the kyng oure sovereigne lorde hathe hadde as gret lyvelode and possessions as evyr had kyng of Engelond; that is to say, the lyvelode of the Crowne, Principalite of Wales, Duche of Lancastre, Duche of Cornwelle, Duche of York, the Erldome of Chestre, the Erldome of Marche, the Lordeschippe of Irlond, and other, with grete forfaytis, besyde Tunage and Poundage of alle this londe, grauntyd only to the kepynge of the see. The lorde Revers, the Duchesse of Bedford his wyf, and thayre sonnes, Ser William Harbert, Earle of Pembroke, and Humfrey Stafford, Erle of Devonshire, the Lord of Audely, and Ser John Fogge, and other of thayre myschevous assent and oppinion, whiche have advised and causid oure seid sovereigne lord to geve of the seyd lyvelode and possessions to them above theire disertis and degrees, So that he may nat lyf honorably and mayntene his estate and charges ordinarie withinne this lond.

"And also the seid seducious persones next before expressid, not willyng to leve suche large possessions and goodis as they have of oure seid sovereigne lordis gyfte, have, by subtile and discevable ymaginacions, movid and causid oure sovereyne lord to chaunge his most ryche coyne, and mynysshed his most royalle household, to the gret appeycyng of his estate, and the comonwele of this londe.

"Also seid seducious persones, continuyng in theire most deseyvable and covetous disposiscion, have causid oure seid soverayne lord to aske and charge us his trewe comons and subgettis wyth suche gret imposicions and inordinat charges, as by meanes of borowyng withoute payment, takyng goodes of executours of rich men, taxis, dymes, and preestis noblis; takyng gret goodis for his household without payment, impechementes of treasounes to whom they owe any eville will; So that ther can be no man of worshippe or richesse, other spirituelle or temporelle, knyghtis, squiers, marchauntes, or any other honest persone, in surete of his lyf, lyvelode, or goodis, where the seid seducious persones, or any of them, owe any malice or eville wille, to the grete drede and importabylle charges, and the utter empoverysshyng of us his treue Commons and subjettes, And to the gret enrychyng of themself, the premisses amountynge to ccM^{l}. markes [this yere] and more.

" Also the seid seducious persones have caused our seid sovereygne lord to spende the goodis of oure holy fadir [the pope], the wheche were yevyn hym for defence of Cristen feyth of many goodely disposyd people of this lond, without repayment of oure seid holy fadir, for the wheche cause this lond stondith in juberdie of Enterdytynge.

" Also the seid seducious persones, be thayre mayntenaunces in the cuntreyes where they dwelt or where they here rule, will not suffre the Kynges lawes to be executyd uppon whom they owyd favere unto, And also movid oure seid sovereyne lord to the same; by the wheche the lawes be not duly mynystered, ne put in execucion; by the wheche gret murdre, robbres, rapes, oppressions, and extorcions, as well be them, as by thayre gret mayntenaunces of theire servauntes, to us daly done and remayne unpunysshed, to the gret hurt and grugge of alle this londe.

" Also the seid seducious persones hath caussid oure seid soverayne lord to estrainge the true lerdis of his blood from his secrete Councelle, to th'entent that they myghte atteyne and brenge abought theyre fals and dysceyvable purpos in premisses aforseid, to the gret enrychynge of themself, And to the gret hurt and poverte of oure seid sovereyne lorde, and to alle us his trewe subjettis and commons of this londe."

"*These undrewretyn are the peticions of us treue and feythefulle subjettes and commons of this lond for the gret wele and surete of the Kyng oure sovereigne lord and his heires, and the commonwele of this lond, evir to be contynued. Aftir humble praying of trewe lordis, spirituelle and temporelle, to yeve assistence and aid in thys oure true and goodely desyres; For we take God to record we entende but only for the wele and surete of the Kyng oure sovereigne lord, And the common-wele of this lond.*

"First, that the seid seducious persones abovenamed, wheche by theire subtile and malicious meanes have causyd oure said sovereyn lord to estrainge his goode grace from the Councelle of the nobile and trewe lordis of his blood, moved hym to breke hys lawes and statutis, mynysshed his lyvelode and housold, chaunchyng his most richest coyne, and chargyng this lond with suche gret and inordinat imposicions, as is above expressid; to the grete appeirement of his most Royalle estate, and enpoverisshyng of hym and alle his true Commons and subjettis, and only to the enrichynge of themself; may be punysshed accordyng to theire werkes and untrouethes, So that alle other hereaftir shall take ensample by thayme.

"Also in eschewyng the occasions and causes of the gret inconveniencis and myschevis that by the same hathe fallen in the Kynges dayes, above expressid, as well uppon themself, as uppon this lond, And that in tymes hereaftir myghte falle; We, the Kyngis true and feithfulle Commons and subjettes of this lond, mekely besechen his good grace that hit well lyke hym for the gret wele of hymself, his heires, and the common-wele of us his true subjettes and Commons, for evyr to be continued by the advyse and auctorite of his lordis spirituelle and temporalle, to appoynte, ordeyne, and stablish for evyr to be hadde suche a sufficiente of lyvelode and possescions, by the whiche he and alle his heires aftir hym may mayntene and kepe theire most honorable estate, withe alle other ordinarie charges necessarye to be hadde in this lond. So that he nor noon of his heires, hereafter, of necessite, nede to charge and ley uppon his true Commons and subjettes suche gret imposicions as before is expressid; Unlesse that it were for the gret and urgent causes concernynge as well the wellthe of us, as of oure seid sovereyne lord; Accordyng to the promyse that he made in his last parliament, openly wyth his owen mouthe unto us.

"Also to be enstablisshid be the seid auctorite, that yf any persone, of what estate or degree that he be, aftir the seid stablisshement so ordeyned, and made, (except the Kynges issue and his brethern), presume or take uppon them to aske or take possessions of any of the lyvelod so appoyntyd, that, by the seid auctorite, he be taken and reputyd as he that wold mynysshe and apeire the royall estate of his sovereyn lord, and the commonwele of this lond. And went pardon so to be punysshed.

"Also that the revenues of Tounage and Poundage may be employed in the kepyng of the see as it was graunted, and too non other use, for the safetie of entrecourse of merchaundizes, to gret enrichyng of this lond, and also for the defence of the enemyes.

"Also that the lawes and the statutis made in the dayes of youre noble progenitours kyng Edward the ij^{de}., sethen for the concernyng and kepyng of this lond in good hele and peas, as welle Wales as Engelond, be duly kept, observid, and executyd, for the conservacion of us youre trewe commons and subjettes in peas, and the commonwele of this oure lond."

P. 8, *l.* 5.—*And in the x. yere.* It may be remarked that the regnal years of Edward IV. commence on the fourth of March, "quo die Rex Edwardus iiij^{tus}. incepit regnare;"—MS. Magnus Rotulus Pipæ, 1 Edw. IV, com. Cornub. Cf. MS. Bib. Geo. III. Mus. Brit. 52. fol. 33, r°.

—— *l.* 6.—*The Lorde Welles his sonne.* See the *Excerpta Historica*, p. 282, for the confession of Sir Robert Welles, which throws very considerable light on this history. It appears that the Duke of Clarence took a much more active part in the conspiracy than is generally supposed; that the motive which actuated the multitude was chiefly the fear of the King's vengeance; that a servant of Clarence's was in the battle, and afforded Welles considerable assisttance; that when Lord Welles went to London pursuant to the King's commands, he desired his son, in the event of his hearing that he was in danger, to hasten to his assistance with as many followers as possible; that the real object of the rebellion was to place the crown on Clarence's head; and that both Clarence and Warwick had, for some time, been urging Lord Welles, and his son, to continue firm to their cause.

The following documents are given from the Close Rolls of 10 Edw. IV. (m. 8. dorso.) and are valuable illustrations of the history of this insurrection.

"*De proclamationibus faciendis.*—Rex vicecomiti Warr' et Leicestr' salutem. Præcipimus tibi firmiter injungentes, quod statim, post receptionem præsentium, in singulis locis infra ballivam, tuam tam infra libertates quam extra, ubi magis expediens videris, ex parte nostra publicas proclamationes fieri facias, in hæc verba—

"For as moche as hit hath plesyd God, of his godeness and grace, to send to our soveraigne Lord the victorye of his Rebelles and Traitours of his shire of Lincolne, late assembled in grete nombre, leveyng werre ayenst his Highness, contrary to their ligeaunce and duete; Oure said Soveraigne Lord, therefore, not willing his subgettis, other than such as now attend upon his most Royall Person, to be putte to charge, labour, and businesse, by vertue of his commissions of array, and other writing, late addressed to dyvers shires, citees, and townes, for the resistens of the malicious and traiterous purpose of the said Rebelles, wolle, and in the most straitest wise chargeth, that noon of his subgettes presume, ne take uppon hym, to ryse, ne make any assemble or gadering, by reason of any of the seid commissions or writings, ne be moeving, steryng, writing, or commaundement made, or hereafter to be made, by any persone or persones of what estate, degree, or condition sooever he be of, lesse than hit bee by the Kinges commission, Prive Seal, or writyng under his signet, of new to be made aftir this the xiij. day of Marche. And if any persone or persones presume, or take uppon theym or hym, to doe the contrary hereof, Our Said Soveraigne Lord woll repute and take hym and them soo doyng as his ennemyes and Rebelles, and wool procede to their lawfull Punycion in the most streitest wise, according to his Lawes and Statutes in such case ordeyned.

" Et hoc nullatenus omittas. Teste Rege apud Stamford xiij°. die Martii.

" PER IPSUM REGEM."

(Here follow the names of counties.)

" *De proclamationibus faciendis.*—Rex vicecomiti Eborum salutem. Præcipimus tibi, quod statim post receptionem presentium, in singulis locis infra ballivam tuam, tam infra libertates quam extra, ubi magis expediens videris, ex parte nostra publicas proclamationes fieri facias in hæc verba—

" Howbeit that the King our Soveraine Lord graunted unto Georg Duc of Clarence, and Richard Erle of Warwyk, his pardon generall of all offences committed and doon ayenst him, afore the fest of Christmasse last passed, trusting thereby to have caused theym to have shewed unto him their naturall love, ligeaunce, and duetie, and to have assisted his Highness, as well in subdueing insurrections and rebellions late made ayenst him in the countie of Lincolne, as in all other things concerning the suertie of his persone; and, in trust that they soo wold have done according to their promisses to hym made, his said Highness auctorized theym by his commission undre his grete seal to assemble his subgetts in certain shires, and theym to have brought to his said Highnes, to the entent aforesaid; yet the said Duc and Erle, unnaturally, unkindly, and untruly intending his destruction and the subversion of his reaume, and the commonwele of the same, and to make the said Duke King of this his said Reaume, ayenst Gods law, mannes law, and all reason and conscience, dissimiled with his seid Highness, and, under colour thereof, falsly and traiterously provoked and stured, as well by their writings as otherwise, Sir Robert Welles, late calling himselfe Great Capitayne of the Commons of the seid shire of Lincolne, to continue the said insurrections and rebellions, and to levee warre ayenst hym, as they, by the same, soe dyd with banners displayed, avauncing theymselfe in plain bataylle, unto the time his said Highnesse, by the help of God, put them to flight; wherein the said Duc and Erle promitted to the said Sir Robert and Commons to have yeven them their assistences to the uttermost of their powers, and soo wolde have done, if God ne had yeven unto hym the said victorie, as the same Sir Robert Welles, Sir Thomas de la Laund, Richard Wareyn, and other have openly confessed and shewed before his seid Highnes, the Lordes of his blood, and the multitude of his subgettis attending upon hym in his host at this tyme; which Sir Robert Welles, and the said other pety capitaynes, affirmed to be true at their dethes, uncompelled, unstirred, or undesired soo to doo; and as by the confession of the said Robert Welles, made under his writing and signe manuell, it apperith. And after that the said Duc and Erle, understanding and seing that this ther seid labours wold not serve to the perfourmyng of their fals and traiterous purpose afore declared, laboured by their writings and messages sent into Yorkeshire into divers persons there, theym straitly charging to doo make open proclamations in their owne names, without making mention of his seid Highnes, that all maner men upon peyn of deth shuld come unto theym, and yeve theym their assistences in resisting of hym; whereupon his seid Highnes sent unto the said Duc and Erle, by Garter King of Armes, summonicion and warnyng of their said accusations undir his prive seal, straitly charging theym to come unto his said Highnes, resonably accompanyed according to their astates and degrees, to answer unto their said accusations; which to doo they presumptuously refused, and withdrew themselfe, and fled with their felaship into Lancashire; soo as his said Highness with his host for lak of vitaill might not follow them, to the intent that they might gadre his subgettes in gretter nombre, and to be able to performe their said fals and traiterous purpose and entent; for the which causes they have deserved to be published as fals traitours and rebelles, and to have the uttermost punition of the law; yet, nathelesse, our said Soveraigne Lord considering the nighness of blood that they be of unto him, and the tendre love which he hath afore time borne to theym, were therefore loth to lese theym, if they wold submitt theym to his grace, and put hym in suertie of their good demeaning hereafter.

"Wherefore our said Sovereigne Lord woll, and in the most straitest wyse chargeth, the said Duc and Erle, that they, in their persones, come in humble and obeysant wyse, and appier afore his Highnes the xxviij. day of this present month of March, Wednesday next, or afore, wheresoever he than shall be, to answer unto the said accusations; which if they woll soo doo, and come declare theymselfe nat guilty, his Highness woll be thereof right glad, and have hem in his grace and favour; and if they refuse thus to doo, then our said Soveraigne Lord reputeth, taketh, and declareth thaym as his rebelles and traitoures, willing and straitly charging all his subgetts to doo the same, and that noon of his subgetts from that time forth receive theym, ne eyther of theym ayd, favour, or assist with mete, drink, ne money, or otherwise, ne noon other persone which, after the said Duc and Erle have refused to come to our said Soverain Lord as is aforesaid, abydeth with theym, or aydeth theym, or assisteth in any wise; but that every of the King's subgetts putte hem in effectuell devir to take the said Duc and Erle, and all other soo abyding with theym, or aiding or assisting theym, as is abovesaid, and theym suerly bring to his Highnes uppon peyn of deth; And he that taketh and bringeth the said Duc or Erle shall have for his reward, to hym and his heires, an C. li. worth of his lond of yerely value, or M^{l}. li. in redy money, at his election; and for a knyght xx.li. worth of his lond, or C. marc in money; and for a squyer x. li. worth of his lond, or xl. li. in money; and over that cause our said soveraigne Lord to have hym and theym soo doing in the more tendre favour of his good grace at all tymes hereafter.

"Et hoc sub periculo incumbenti nullatenus omittas. Teste Rege apud Eborum xxiiij^{o} die Martii.

"PER IPSUM REGEM.

"Consimilia brevia diriguntur vicecomitibus in Com' subscriptis sub data predicta, videlicet,

"Majori et vicecomitibus Civitatis London'." (*&c.*)

"Rex Vicecomiti Eborum Salutem. Præcipimus tibi firmiter injungentes, quod, statim post receptionem præsentium, in singulis locis infra ballivam tuam, tam infra libertates quam extra, ubi magis expediens videris, ex parte nostra publicas proclamationes fieri facias, in hæc verba—

"Howbeit that the King our Soveraigne Lord graunted unto Georg Duke of Clarence, and Richard Earl of Warrewyk, his pardon generall of all offences committed and doone ayenst him, afore the fest of Cristemasse last past; trusting thereby to have caused theym to have shewed unto hym theyr naturall love, ligeaunce, and duetee, and to have assisted his Highnesse, as well in subdueing insurrections and rebellyons late made ayenst him in the Counte of Lincolne, as in all other things concerning the suertee of his persone; and in trust that they wold soo have done according to their promisses to hym made, his said Highnesse auctorised theym, by his commission under his great seall, to assemble his subgietts in certain shires, and them to have brought unto his said Highnesse, to th'entent aforesaid; yet the said Duke and Erle unnaturally, unkindely, and untruly entending his destruction, and the subversion of his reaume, and the commonwele of the same, and to make the seid Duke King of this his said Reaume, ayenst God's lawe, mannes lawe, all reason and conscience, dissimiled with his said Highness; and under colour thereof, falsly and traiterously provoked, laboured, and stured, as well by their writings as otherwise, Sir Robert Welles, late calling himselfe Grete Capitayne of the commons of the said Shire of Lincolne, to continue the said insurrections and rebellions, and to levee werre ayenst him, as they by the same soo did, with banners displayed, avauncing theymselfe in pleyn bataille, unto the time his said Highness, by the help of God, put theym to flyght; wherein the said Duke and Erle promytted to the said Sir Robert and Commons to have yeven theym their assistences to the uttermost of their powers, and soo wold have doone, yf God ne had yeven unto hym the said victorye, as the same Sir Robert Welles, Sir Thomas de la Laund, Richard Waryng, and other, have openly confessed and shewed before his said Highness, the Lordes of his blode, and the multitude of his subgietts attending upon him in his host at this time; which Sir Robert Welles, and the other pety Captaynes, affermed to be true at their dethes, uncompelled, unstured, or undesired soo to doe; and as by the confession of the said Sir Robert Wells, made under his writyng and sign manuell, it appereth; and after that the said Duke and Erle, understanding and seing that this ther said labours wold not serve in the performing of their fals and traiterous purpose, afore declared, laboured, by their writings and messages sent into Yorkeshire to dyvers persones there, theym streitly charging to doo make open proclamations in their owne names, without mention makeing of his said Highness, that all manner men, uppon peyn of deth, should come unto theym, and yeve theym their assistence in resisting of him; whereupon his said Highnesse sent unto the said Duke and Erle, by Garter Kyng of Armes, summonition and warnyng of their said accusations undre his privie seal, straitly charging theym to come unto his said Highness resonably accompanyed, according to their astates and degrees, to answere to their said accusations; which to doo they presumptuously refused, and withdrewe themselfe, and fled with their felaship into Lancashire, soo as his said Highness with his host, for lake of vitayl, might not follow theym, to th'entent that they might gather his subgetts in greter noumbre, and to be hable to perfourme their said fals and trayterous purpose and entent; ffor which causes they have deserved to be published as fals traitours and rebells, and to have the uttermost punytion of the lawe. Yet nathelesse our said soveraigne Lord considered the nyghnesse of of blode which they be of unto him, and the tender love which he hath afore time borne to theym, therefore was loth to have lost theym, yf they would have submitted theym to his grace, and to have put hym in suertee of their good beryng hereafter; wherefore he sent his writts of proclamation unto dyvers open places, straitly charging theym to have come and appered in their persones afore his Highness in humble and obeysaunt wyse, the xxviij^th^. day of this present month of Marche or before, to have aunswered unto the said accusations, shewing by the same that yf they soo would have done, and could have declared theymselfe not guilty, his Highness would have be therewith right gladd, and have had theym in his grace and favour, and that, though they soo cowde not have doon, yet his Highness would not have forgeten their seid nighness of blode, ne the love and favour that he aforetime bare to theym, but wold have ministred to theym ryghtwyssely his lawes with favour and pitee shewyng; which they did not, but obstinately refused soo to doo, and dayly aftir withdrew theymself more and more from his Highness; and after the said proclamations, made as before, it hath be evidently shewed by open confessions made at his citee of Yorke, afore our said Soveraigne and his Lordes than there being with hym, by dyvers persones of grete reputation, that the seid Duke and Erle intended the finall destruction of his most royall persone, and the subversion of this his reaume, and the commonwele of the same, which confessions the said persones have affirmed by their solempne othes, made upon the receyving of the blessed sacrament, to bee faithfull and true; wherefore, the præmisses considered, and the grete obstinacy which they shewed hemself to be of, and yet doo contrarye to their ligeaunce, faith, and duetee, our said soveraigne Lord, to the example of all other like offenders, reputeth, taketh, and declareth the said Duke and Erle as his Rebelles and Traytours, willing and straitly charging all his subgetts to doo the same; and that noon of his said subgetts from hensforth receyve theym, ne eyther of theym, ayd, favour, or assist with mete, drynke, or money, or otherwise; nor noo other persone beyng with, or adhering to them, or either of theym, but that every of his said subgetts putt hem in effectuell devoyr to take the said Duke and Erle, and the seid persones soe being with hem, or adhering to theym, or either of theym, and hem surely bring to the King, upon peyn of deth, and forfaiture of all that they may forfait; and he that soo doth shall have for his reward of either of theym C. li. worth of land by yere to him, and to his heires, or a M^l. li. in redy money at his election.

" Et hoc nullatenus omittas. Teste meipso apud Notingham xxxj°. die Martii.

"PER IPSUM REGEM."

(Here follow the names of counties.)

(From Madox's transcripts in the British Museum. MS. Add. 4614.)

P. 8, *l.* 24.—*Wove.* So in MS. for *vowe.*

P. 9, *l.* 32.—*Kynge Henry schuld rejoyse the kyngdome.* " On halmesse evyn, abowt thre after noyne, comyn into the Comowne Howus, the Lordys spiritual and temporal, excepte the Kyng, the Duk of York, and hys sonys; And the Chawnceler reherset the debate had bytwyn owre soveren Lord the Kyng and the Duk of York upon the tytelys of Inglond, Fraunce, and the Lordschep of Erlond, wyche mater was debat, arguet, and disputet by the seyd lordes spiritual and temporal byfore owre soveren Lord and the Duk of York longe and diverse tymys. And at the last, by gret avyce and deliberacion, and by the assent of owre soveryn Lord and the Duk of York, and alle the lordes spiritual and temporal ther assemelyd by vertu of thys present parlement, assentyt, agreyt, and acordyt, that owre sovereyne Lord the Kyng schal pessabylly and quyetly rejoys and possesse the crowne of Inglond and of Fraunce and the Lordchip of Irlond, with al hys preemynences, prerogatyves, and liberteys duryng hys lyf. And that after hys desese the coroun, etc. schal remayne to Rychard

Duk of York, as rythe inheryt to hym, and to hys issue, prayng and desyring ther the comownes of Inglond, be vertu of thys present parlement assemylet, to comyne the seyd mater, and to gyff therto her assent. The wyche comyns, after the mater debatet, comynt, grawntyt, and assentyt to the forseyd premisses. And fethermore was granted and assentyt, that the seyd Duk of York, the Erl of March, and of Rutlond, schul be sworne that they schuld not compas ne conspyrene the kynges deth ne hys hurt duryng hys lyf. Ferthermore the forseyd Duk schulde be had, take, and reportyt as eyr apparent prince and ryth inheryter to the crowne aboveseyd. Ferthermore for to be had and take tresoun to ymagyne or compas the deth or the hurt of the seyd Duk, wythe othyr prerogatyves as long to the prince and eyr parawnt. And fferthermore the seyd Duk and hys sonys schul have of the Kyng yerly x.Ml. marces, that is to sey, to hemself v.Ml., to the Erl of Marche iijMl., the Erl of Rutlond ijMl. marces. And alle these mateyrs agreyd, assentyt, and inactyt by the auctorite of thys present parlement. And ferthermore, the statutes mad in the tyme of Kyng Herry the fowrth, wherby the croune was curtaylet to hys issu male, utterly anullyd and evertyth, wyth alle other statutes and grantys mad by the seyd Kynges days, Kyng Herry the V. and Kyng Herry the vjte, in the infforsyng of the tytel of Kyng Herry the fourth in general."—Rot. Harl. C. 7, Membr. 4, *dorso*.

The following document, from Chart. Antiq. Cotton. XVII. 11, is exceeding curious, and I take the opportunity of inserting it here.

" *Jhesus. Maria. Johannes.*

.... the most nobylle and Crysten prynce, oure most dradde soverayne Lorde Kynge Hary the syxte, verrey true undoutyde Kynge of Englonde and of Fraunce, nowe beynge in the hondys of hys rebellys and gret en[e]my, Edwarde, late the Erl of Marche, usurpur, oppressour, and distroyer of oure seyde Soverayn Lorde, and of the nobylle blode of the reme of Englonde, and of the trewe commenes of the same, by hys myschevus and inordinate newe founden lawes and ordenaunces inconveniant, to the uttyrmoste destruccion of the goode commenes of the seyde reme of Englonde; yf yt so schulde contenne ffor the reformacion wherof, in especialle for the comenwelle of alle the seyde reme, the ryȝt hyghe and myȝty Prynce George Duke [of] Clarens, Jasper Erl of Penbroke, Richarde Erl of Warewyke, and Johnne Erl of Oxenforde, as verrey and trewe feyȝtfulle cosyns, subgettes, and liege men to oure seyde soveraine Lorde Kynge Harry the syxt, by sufficiante autorite commysyd unto theme in thys behalfe, be the hole voyse and assent of the moste nobylle pryncesse Margaret, Quene of Englonde, and the Ryȝt Hyȝe and myȝty Prynce Edwarde, atte thys tyme beyng Quene,* into thys reme to putte theme in ther moste uttermoste devers to dylyver oure seyd Sopheraine Lord oute of hys grete captivite, and daungere of hys enmyes, unto hys liberte, and by the grace of Gode to rest hym in his rialle estate, and crowne of thys hys seyd reme of Englond, and reforme . . . . . and amende alle the grete myschevus oppressions, and alle odyr inordinate abusions, nowe raynynge in the seyde reme, to the perpetualle pese, prosperyte, to the comene welfare of thys reme. Also ytt ys fully concludyd and grauntyde that alle mail men within the reme of Englonde, of whatt estat, degre, condicion that they be of, be fully pardonede of alle maner tresoun or trespace imagenyd or done, in eny maner of wyse contrary to ther legeyns, agayne oure soveraine Lorde the Kynge, the Quene, and my Lorde the prynce, before the day of comynge and entre of the seyde Duke and Erles in thys sayde reme; so that they putte them in ther uttermost dever, and att thys tyme drawe them to the compeny of the seyde Duke and Erles, to helpe and to fortefy theme in ther purpose and jorney; excepte suche persons as be capitalle enmyes to oure seyde soferaine Lorde, withowte punyschement of the whyche god pece and prosperite of thys reme cannatte be had; and excepte alle suche as atte thys tyme make any rescistens ageyns the seyde Duke and Erlys, or eny of theme, or of ther compeny. Also the sayde Duke and Erlys, in the name and behalfe of oure seyde soferaine Lorde Kynge Harry the syxt, chargyne and commawndyne that alle maner of men, that be betwen xvj. yeres and lx^{ti}., incontinently and immediatly aftyr thys proclamacion made, be redy, in ther best aray defensabell, to attende and awayte upponne the sayde Duke and Erlys, to aschyst theme in ther jorney, to the entente afore rehercyd, upponne payne of dethe and forfiture of alle that they [may forfeyte], withinne the reme of Englond; excepte suche persons as be visette with syknesse, or with suche noune poure that they may not go."

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* This sentence is transposed in the document.

P. 10, *l.* 12.—*Inhabytauntes.* So in MS. for *inheritaunces.*

P. 11, *l.* 12.—The Harl. MS. 7353, is a most curious roll on vellum, containing pictures on one side representing parts of scripture history, and on the other assumed similar transactions in the life of Edward IV. We have, I. The King on his throne. II. The King encouraging his soldiers. III. The King with a triple sun shining upon him through three golden crowns, and saying "Domine! quid vis me facere?" IV. Pardoning Henry after the battle of Northampton. V. Setting sail for Calais. At the bottom is a genealogical tree, with portraits of all the members of the houses of York and Lancaster, very fantastically arranged.

—— *l.* 12.—*Duke of Burgeyne.* Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, married Edward's sister on the 18th of June, 1467. It was to this marriage that Edward owed his preservation abroad, and the final recovery of his kingdom. An account of the marriage, with the reception of the Princess in Flanders, may be seen in MS. Cotton. Nero, C. IX. Cf. Cart. Antiq. Mus. Brit. XI. 54.

—— *l.* 22.—*Wrott in alle his lettres.* Cf. MS. Harl. 7, fol. 64, r°; Sir Harris Nicolas's Chronology of History, p. 304; Cart. Antiq. Mus. Brit. XXII. 42.

P. 12, *l.* 5.—*Was lost in his tyme.* This was a never-failing source of rebuke against Henry; so Ocland says—

"Quippe erat Henricus quintus, dux strenuus olim,
Mortuus hinc damni gravior causa atque doloris."

Anglorum prælia. Edit. 1582. Edward, in one of his earlier proclamations, says, "HE that directeth the hertes of all Princes" hath "putte in oure remembraunce the lamentable state and rayne of this reaume of Englond, and the losse of th'obeissaunce of the reaume of Fraunce, and Duchies of Guyenne, and Normandie, and Anjou." Rot. Claus. 1 Edw. IV. m. 38, dorso.

P. 12, *l.* 26.—*Revertimini*, &c. This is perhaps quoted from memory, for the reading in the Latin Vulgate is *Convertimini filii revertentes, dicit Dominus, quia ego vir vester;* which is thus translated,—"Turn, O backsliding children, saith the Lord, for I am married unto you;" Jeremiah, iii. 14. It is almost unnecessary to remark that this is the sermon with which it was usual to preface the opening of a parliament; the present one was most admirably fitted for the occasion.

P. 13, *l.* 6.—*Was behedede.* "His diebus captus est ille trux carnifex, et hominum decollator horridus, Comes de Wacester, et in Turri Londonie incarceratus, et in breve prope dictam turrim decapitatus, et apud Fratres Predicatores, juxta Ludgate, obscure sepultus." —MS. Arundel, Coll. Arm. 5, fol. 171, v°. This coming from a partizan of the same side with the Earl, at a period when party politics necessarily ran so high, is strikingly conclusive of that nobleman's character. Cf. Chron. p. 9, l. 13—21.

—— *l.* 30.—*At Ravenyspore.* See Mr. Jones's Essay on the Rival Roses, p. xxv.

P. 14, *l.* 11.—*Nevere wulde clayme no title.* He took a solemn oath to that effect; Cf. MS. Sloan. 3479, and MS. Harl. 2408.

—— *l.* 21.—M^{l}. M^{l}. i. e. two thousand.

P. 15, *l.* 18.—*And in dyner tyme Kynge Edwarde was late in.* Edward was admitted into London on the 11th of April. The Archbishop suffered himself to be taken at the same time, but was released in two days afterwards, and obtained full pardon. There is one remarkable circumstance in this pardon; it remits all crimes before April the 13th, and yet is dated April the 10th, the day probably on which the Archbishop agreed with Edward to admit him into the city. See

Carte's History of England, book 13, p. 787, *n.*, and *Fœdera*, XI. 709. Warkworth remarks very strongly upon his conduct at p. 26 of his Chronicle. Cf. MS. Bib. Coll. Trin. Oxon. 62 (10).

P. 16, *l.* 14.—*The sunne with stremys.* The crest of the Kynaston coat is supposed to have been assumed from this time; and in allusion to this event.

—— *l.* 29, 30.—*And ther was slayne.* A very comprehensive list is given in MS. Arundel, Mus. Brit. 28, fol. 25, v°. The brass matrix of the seal of the Earl of Warwick, taken from him when he was slain, is in the British Museum; an impression may be seen among the charters, xxxiv. 33.

P. 17, *l.* 6.—*Lord Barnes sonne and heyre.* Sir Humphrey Bourchier. His gravestone remains in Westminster Abbey, denuded of his figure in brass plate, but retaining an epitaph of fourteen Latin hexameters, commemorative of his prowess and the scene of his death. They commence—

> Hic pugil ecce jacens, Bernett fera bella cupiscens,
> Certat ut Eacides, &c. &c.

See engravings in Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, vol. II. pl. LXXXVI; Harding's Antiquities in Westminster Abbey, pl. VIII. It may be remarked that the word in the eighth line read *parvulus* by Gough, &c. is really *p*^{i}*mulus*, i. e. *primulus*, used instead of *primus* for the sake of the metre.—J. G. N.

—— *l.* 7.—*Lord Say.* This nobleman was formerly on the Lancastrian side, but received Edward's pardon on the 5th of May, 1462; Chart. Antiq. Mus. Brit. VIII. 13.

—— *l.* 31-2.—*Kynge Herry was put into the Toure ayene.* See *Devon's Issue Rolls of the Exchequer*, p. 491.

P. 18, *l* 1.—*And gaderet grete peple.* Bouchet, in *Les Annales d'Acquitaine*, says that there were *plus de lx. mil hommes armez*. Edit. Par. 1558, fol. 121, v°.

—— *l.* 8.—*And ther he made a felde.* The place where the battle of Tewkesbury was fought is now called Glaston Meadow.—*Rudder's History of Gloucestershire*, p. 736. I have been further assured that this field is now called the *Bloody-Field* by the common people living near the spot.

P. 18, *l.* 16.—Cf. *Memoires Olivier de la Marche. Edit. Brux.* 1616, p. 502.

—— *l.* 19.—*And there was slayne in the felde Prynce Edward.*—"Confectus apud Tewkysbery per Edwardum Regem quartum." Rot. Harl. C. 7, Memb. 5.

P. 19, *l.* 3, 4.—*Were behedede.* The prior of St. John's in Smithfield was among them.—MS. Arund. Coll. Arm. 5, fol. 171, v°.

—— *l.* 4.—*Noȝtwithstondynge the Kynges pardon.* Edward's policy was despotic in the extreme; he told De Comines that it was his object to spare the common people, but cut off the gentry. The destruction of these noblemen and gentlemen was an awful example of his barbarity, as well as his deficiency of common honesty.

—— *l.* 28.—*At Algate and at London Brygge.* "Super pontem Londonie, cum dominibus quibusdam adjacentibus, combusserunt, et similiter alias juxta Algate succederunt."—MS. Arundel, Coll. Arm. 5, fol. 171, v°. In MS. Arundel, Mus. 28, fol. 25, v°, this event is stated to have taken place on the 14th of May, — xiiij°. die mensis Maij supra dict'; the anonymous scribbler of the notes in this MS. informs us that Lord Rivers put the Bastard to flight.

P. 20, *l.* 9.—*Juperdy*, i. e. jeopardy.

—— *l.* 15.—See this proverb illustrated in Sir Walter Scott's novel of the Abbot, iii. 91-2.

—— *l.* 19.—*Was behedede.* This event took place two days before Michaelmas day in the same year, and his head was placed upon London Bridge "lokyng into Kent warde."—*Paston Correspondence*, ii. 82. Cf. MS. Arundel, Mus. Brit. fol. 25, v°.

P. 21, *l.* 1, 2.—*And ther he was worschipfully receyvid.* "Eodem mensis Maii die xxj°. rediit Rex Edwardus ad civitatem Londonie, cum nobili triumpho."—MS. Arundel, Mus. Brit. 28, fol. 25, v°. The same writer says that he brought Queen Margaret with him *in curru precedente exercitum.* In this triumph he was accompanied by the

Dukes of Clarence, Gloucester, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Buckingham; also the Earls of Northumberland, Shrewsbury, Rivers, Essex, Worcester, Pembroke, &c. See the long list given in the same MS.

P. 21, *l.* 4.—*Was putt to dethe.* "He dyid put to silence in the Tour of London, the xxj. day of May, a°. 1471, buryid first at Chertesey and after at Wyndesore."—Rot. Lansd. Mus. Brit. 6. In the old ballad of the "Wandering Jew's Chronicle" this event is thus versified:—

"I saw the white and red rose fight,
And Warwick gret in armour bright,
  In the Sixth Henries reign;
And present was that very hour,
When Henry was in London Tower,
  By Crookt-backt Richard slain."

But this subject has been so much before the reader that I refrain from adding more. I give, however, a few references, from my miscellaneous notes, which may assist any future inquirer who desires to investigate more at length into various matters connected with the popular opinion of Henry VI. after his death, his burial places, &c.:—*Widmore's History of Westminster Abbey*, pp. 118-120; *Ashmole's History of the Order of the Garter*, p. 136; MS. Cotton. Cleop. E. III; *Monast.* I. 277; *British Topographer*, II. 112, n; *Gent. Mag.* LVI.; MS. Cole Collect. XLII. 378; ib. XIII; *Hormanni Vulgaria, Lond.* 1519, fol. 3, r°; *Barrington on the Statutes*, p. 253; *Parker Antiq. Brit. Eccl.* 229, *edit. Drake*, p. 447; *Fuller's Church History*, IV. 153; *Wilkins's Concil.* IV. 635; *Spelman*, II. 720; *Walpole's Fugitive Pieces*; MS. Sloan. 1441.

—— *l.* 11.—*Caryed to Chyrchesey Abbey in a bote.* Henry's body was protected by soldiers from Calais, and, rather singularly, for the possession of that city had been a hard point of contention between the rival parties. The extreme anxiety of Queen Margaret to possess it, may be seen from a very curious document now preserved in the Royal Archives of France, and the title of which is given in MS. Addit. Mus. Brit. 9346, fol. 116, r°.

In the Issue Rolls of the Exchequer, we find money paid to Hugh Brice on the 24th of June for the expenses of Henry's funeral, for conveying his body from the Tower to St. Paul's, and from thence to Chertsey. From these and several other statements of expences in the same rolls, it fully appears that every respect was paid to the corpse; but Mr. Devon has attempted to draw from this an argument for the natural death of the King, not taking into consideration that the very fact of much attention having been paid to his funeral obsequies would render it more than probable that it was done to conceal the appearance of any hostile feeling: had Henry died a natural death, it appears to me that the haste of Edward's departure into Kent, and the length of time necessarily elapsing before he could have become acquainted with the news, would have almost rendered any definite orders for his funeral next to impossible. Many writers have committed the error of affirming that Henry was buried without honours.—*Camden's Britannia, edit. Gough*, I. 167.

P. 21, *l.* 14.—The names of these aldermen are given by Stowe, Edit. 1755, *Survey of London*, II. 222.

—— *l.* 23.—*One Fauntt of Canterbury.* In the Issue Roll of the Exchequer, 11 Ed. IV. we find the sum of 1*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* paid to one John Belle, for the value of a horse and harness to conduct this Nicholas Faunte from the Tower of London to the King, then in Kent. Hasted is one of the very few writers who quotes Warkworth's Chronicle, which he does on this point.—*History of Kent*, IV. 433.

In the Introduction I have extracted from Lidgate's poem on the Kings of England; and, for want of a better situation, I here give another version of the stanzas on the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. from a MS. of the commencement of the sixteenth century:—

"The vjth Henry his sone was after him fosterde in all vertu,
By just titull and by inheritaunce,
By grace afore provyde of Criste Jhesu,
To were ij crownes bothe in Inglande and in Fraunce.

Above erthly thingis all God was in his remembraunce ;
What vertuus lyfe he led his myraculis now declare !
xxxix. yere he bare dyadym and septure,
In Wyndesore College of the Garter he lyethe in his sepulture.

"After Henry the vj^th^, Goddis campyoun and trewe knyght,
Edward the iiij^th^ obteynede Septure and Crowne,
From the hy Plantagenate havynge titule and right,
xxij. yere the saide Edwarde flowerede withe wysdome, riches and renowne.
Grete welthe and plente in his dayes all penery put downe,
All Cristyn princes were glade withe hym amyte to make,
Whiche onely with a loke made Fraunce and Scotlande to quake ;
In the College of the Garter where he governoure was and hede,
He chase the place of his sepulture, for his body to be beriede in when he was dede."
MS. Bib. Reg. 18 D. II. fol. 182. v°.

This version is completely remodelled ; the MS. Sloan. 1986 (fol. 199, r°.—213, v°.) contains another different edition of the fifteenth century.

P. 22, *l.* 7.—*The most mervelous blasynge sterre.* See an account of this comet in the Nuremburgh Chronicle, Edit. 1493, fol. 254, r°. "Longum radium in modum flamme ingentis ignis emittens."—MS. Arundel, Mus. Brit. 220, fol. 279, v°. This comet is a return of the one described in a manuscript of the fourteenth century in Sion College Library (xix. 2, fol. 155, v°, b.), and of which there is a drawing on fol. 155, v°, a. Cf. MS. Trin. Cantab. R. xv. 18; Bib. Publ. Cantab. KK. IV. 7.; MS. Cotton. Jul. F. xi.

I give the following fragment relative to this comet from a MS. in the library of Pembroke College, Cambridge :—

"*De opinionibus aliquorum de presenti cometa.*

"Quidam presumpcionis filius in consulto sermone procacique oracione, volgari verbo tenus ornata, preter phisicas et astrologicas tradiciones, quas tamen similabat, terrenda populo prenunciavit ; sed quoniam sermones sui a tradicionibus antiquorum sapientium similiter et a via veritatis omnino semoti, indignos memoria eos putavi. Dicebat quidem, caudam comete moveri motu simili motui martis in epiciclo, ex quo plura nitebatur concludere. Sed quoniam, ut posterius dicitur, ipsa minus mobilis erat capite comete, imo etiam semper versus occidentem verum [quid]em ex circumvolucione ejus promotum diurno cauda ipsius quandoque respiciebat orientem, sed nunquam movebatur versus orientem. Etiam uno die omnes differencias posicionis mundi respiciebat; mars autem in suo epiciclo nequáquam ita faciebat. Et forsan nullus planetarum epiciclum habet quod magis putandum opinor. Dicebant et alii, cometam a suo astro sicut ferrum a magnete trahi; cui dissonant dicta partis prime de motu cometarum. Et etiam quoniam motus tractus per lineam fit brevissimam. Alio non existenti impedimento continuo mobili ad trahens approximante. Ipso quoque mobili existenti cum trahente, fixum, ad modum ligati, detineretur; quoniam ibi finis est motus tractus. Hæc patent septimo phisicorum libro ad concavum orbis lune delatus fuisset; horum contrarium experiencia lucidissime edocuit, quoniam nulli planetarum conabatur ab omnibus. Discedendo ab eclipticâ diversitas, etiam aspectus ejus, ad stellas sibi vicinas, certificavit ipsum magis distare a concavo orbis lune quam a terra, in triplo ferè. Aliqui eciam ni" . . . ατελ.

Much more matter relative to this comet might have been given, but, as these notes have already been extended disproportionately to the length of the text, I reserve them for another occasion.

Cf. MS. Tann. Bodl. 2. fol. 56, r°.

P. 22, *l.* 10.—Rather=earlier.

P. 23, *l.* 6-7.—*The viij. day after Michaelmasse.* "About x. of the cloke afore none, the King come into the Parlement chamber in his Parlement robes, and on his hed a cap of mayntenaunce, and sat in his most Royall Majeste, having before hym his Lordes spirituall and temporall, and also the speker of the Parlement, which is called William Alyngton."—MS. Bib. Cotton. Jul. C. vi. fol. 255, r°.

—— *l.* 25.—Axes=Aches.

—— *l.* 33.—*Womere.* So in MS. but should be *wemere.*

P. 24, *l.* 4.—*A tokene of derthe.* See *Mr. Thoms's Anecdotes and*

Traditions (p. 122), for one instance of this curious superstition; Mr. Thoms refers to Grimm's Mythology for more examples.

P. 24, *l.* 13.—*Lovesham*, i. e. Lewisham.

—— *l.* 15.—*Suthsex.* A mistake in MS. for *Surrey*.

—— *l.* 20.—*A pytte in Kent, in Langley Parke.* This is probably the place where the small stream mentioned in Hasted's History of Kent (II. 140.) took its rise, and joins the river Medway on the south side of it, about half a mile above Maidstone.

—— *l.* 23.—*And this yere he is drye.* This passage shows that these notes of prognosticative prodigies were penned in the same year in which they happened.

P. 25, *l.* 12.—*Hade purchased and byllede.* Moor Park in Hertfordshire, now the seat of the Marquess of Westminster. Clutterbuck (History of Hertfordshire, i. 191) states that the Archbishop had license to inclose 600 acres of pasture and land in Rickmersworth and Watford for a park, and to embattle the site of the manor of Moor in Rickmersworth; and quotes for authority Pat. 9. H. VI. m. 10.; but George Neville was then unborn, and on further inquiry we find that the grant was made five years earlier, to Henry (Beaufort) Bishop of Winchester: "Quod Henr' Ep'us Winton' et alii possint kernell' manerium suam de More in Rickmansworth, ac imparcare sexcent' acras terræ, &c. ac liber' warrenn' ib'm." 2 Pat. 4 Hen. VI. m. 10.—J. G. N.

P. 26, *l.* 16.—*Thens into Fraunce asailed.* i. e. sailed thence into France.

—— *l.* 24.—*xx*^{ti}. *score men save iij.* William of Worcester, who is probably correct, says only eighty men (*Itin.* 122.);—"memorandum quod comes de Oxford per quinque annos preteritos die Martis in crastino Sancti Michaelis, tempore quo Fortescue armig. fuit vicecomes Cornubiæ, applicuit ad castrum Mont Mychelle cum LXXX hominibus. Et contra XI millia hominum armatorum ex parte domini Regis Edwardi quarti dictum comitem obsedebant per XXIII septimanas, videlicet usque diem sabbati proxima ante diem martis carnipriviì voc. *le clansyng days* pro . . . . . cum domino Rege demittebat fortalicium eundo ad dominum Regem."

P. 27, *l.* 5.—*xx. xiij.*—A mistake in MS. for xxiij.

—— *l.* 11.—*comaunde,* i. e. communed.

It was only at the eleventh hour that I was informed that the first notice I have inserted (Introd. p. viii.) of the death of Henry VI. has been previously printed by Sir Frederick Madden in the *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, i. 278, 280.

I may also observe that Merlin's prophecy of *bellum inter duos dracones, videlicet album et rubeum,* was completely fulfilled in the wars of the Roses.—Cf. MS. Cotton. Vespas. B. x. fol. 23, vo.

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Richard Halliwell Esq
from his affectionate brother
The Editor

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AND
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(NO. XIX.)

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PREFACE.

THE present volume contains two curious documents concerning Dr. Dee, the eminent philosopher of Mortlake, now for the first time published from the original manuscripts. I. His Private Diary, written in a very small illegible hand on the margins of old Almanacs, discovered a few years ago by Mr. W. H. Black, in the library of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. II. A Catalogue of his Library of Manuscripts, made by himself before his house was plundered by the populace, and now preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

The publication of this Diary will tend perhaps to set Dee's character in its true light, more than any thing that has yet been printed. We have, indeed, his "Compendious Rehearsall," which is in some respects more comprehensive, but this was written for an especial purpose, for the perusal of royal commissioners, and he has of course carefully avoided every allusion which could be construed in an unfavourable light. In the other, however, he tells us his dreams, talks of mysterious noises in his chamber, evil spirits, and alludes to various secrets of occult philosophy in the spirit of a true believer. Mr. D'Israeli has given a correct and able view of his character in his "Amenities of Literature," which is remarkably confirmed in almost every point by the narrative now published. "The imagination of Dee," observes that elegant writer, "often predominated over his science; while both were mingling in his intellectual habits, each seemed to him to confirm the other. Prone to the mystical lore of what was termed the occult sciences, which in reality are no sciences at all, since whatever remains occult ceases to be science, Dee lost his better genius." I shall refer the reader to this popular work instead of attempting an original paper on the subject, which would necessarily be greatly inferior to that drawn by the masterly hand of the author of the "Curiosities of Literature."

The Catalogue of Dee's Library of Manuscripts, although long since dispersed, is valuable for the notices which it preserves of several middle-age treatises not now extant. He is said to have expended on this collection the sum of three thousand pounds, a very large sum in those days for a person of limited income.

J. O. H.

35, Alfred Place,
March 15th 1842.

DR. DEE'S DIARY.

1554-1601

1554. Aug. 25th, Barthilmew Hikman born at Shugborowh in Warwikshyre toward evening. My conjecture, uppon his own reporte of circumstances. Oct. 25th, D. Daniel Vander Meulen Antwerpiæ, mane hora quarta.*

1555. April 22nd, Jane Fromonds borne at Cheyham at none. Aug. 1st, Ed. Kelly natus hora quarta a meridie† ut annotatum reliquit pater ejus. Oct. 12th, the Lord Willughby born hora septima mane, ante meridiem, Lat. 51° 30′, at Wesell in Gelderland.

1557. July 30th, Mr. Arundell of Cornwayle natus circa [horam] quartam a meridie.

1558. Dec. 14th, Mary Nevelle, alias Mary Lewknor, borne inter 11 et meridiem mane, by Chichester.

1560. July 8th, Margaret Russell, Cowntess of Cumberland, hora 2 min. 9 Exoniæ mane.

1561. Aug. 14th, Mr. Heydon, of Baconsthorp in Norfolk, hora noctis 11½ natus in comitatu Surrey.

1563. March 23rd, Mr. William Fennar a meridie inter horam undecimam et duodecimam nocte. June 23nd, Jane Cooper, now

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* It is almost unnecessary to observe that this and the following are notes of nativities. They are not for the most part contemporary notices, but apparently inserted at various times by Dee when professionally consulted as an astrologer.

† "Anno 1555, Aug. 1, hora quarta a meridie Wigorniæ natus Dominus Edouardus Kelæus," MS. Ashm. 1788, fol. 140, where there is a horoscope of this nativity in the handwriting of Dr. Dee. Ashmole, in his MS. 1790, fol. 58, says "Mr. Lilly told me that John Evans informed him that he was acquainted with Kelly's sister in Worcester, that she shewed him some of the gold her brother had transmuted, and that Kelly was first an apothecary in Worcester."

Mystris Kelly, toward evening. Sept. 28th, Mr. John Ask ante meridiem, by York six myle on this syde; Elizabeth Mownson, circa horam 9 mane, soror magistri Thomæ Mownson et uxor magistri Brown.

1564. Mrs. Brigit Cooke borne about seven of the clok on Saynt David's Day, which is the first day of March, being Wensday; but I cannot yet lerne whether it was before none or after. But she thinketh herself to be but 27 yeres old, anno 1593, Martii primo, but it cannot be so. June 20th, Mr. Hudson, hora septima ante meridiem. Aug. 21st, Wenefride Goose, inter 9 et 10 a meridie by Kingstone.

1565. Sept. 12th, John Pontoys, inter 9 et 10 ante meridiem prope Stony-Stratford; puto potius hora 8 min. 43. Oct. 17th, Thomas Kelley* hora quarta a meridie at Wurceter. Dec. 21st, Mr. Thomas Mownson at 11 of the clok in the morning.

1568. July 14th, William Emery born at Danbery in Essex paulo post undecimam horam noctis. Sept. 24th, Margaret Anderson mane inter 7 et 8.

1571. Samuel Swallow borne at Thaxstede in Essex Feb. 15 ante meridiem, inter horam undecimam et duodecimam, forte hora media post undecimam.

1575. July 31st, Simeon Stuard natus ante diluculum per horam 11½ at Shinfelde; his grandfather by the mother was Dr. Huyck the Quene's physicien.

1577. Jan. 16th, the Erle of Lecester, Mr. Phillip Sydney, Mr. Dyer, &c., came to my howse.† Jan. 22nd, The Erle of Bedford cam to my howse. Feb. 19th, great wynde S.W., close, clowdy. March 11th, my fall uppon my right nuckul bone, hora 9 fere mane; wyth oyle of Hypericon in 24 howres eased above all hope: God be thanked for such his goodness of his creatures! March 24th, Alexander Simon the Ninivite came to me, and promised me his servise into Persia. May 1st, I received from M. William Harbert of St. Gillian his notes uppon my Monas.* May 2nd, I understode of one Vincent Murfyn his abhominable misusing me behinde my back; Mr. Thomas Besbich told me his father is one of the cokes of the Court. May 20th, I hyred the barber of Cheswik, Walter Hooper, to kepe my hedges and knots in as good order as he sed them than, and that to be done with twise cutting in the yere at the least and he to have yerely five shillings, [and] meat and drink. June 10th, circa 10, a shower of hayle and rayne. June 18th, borrowed £40 of John Hilton of Fulham. June 19th, I understode of more of Vincent Murfyn his knavery; borrowed £20 of Bartylmew Newsam. June 20th, borow £27 uppon the chayn of golde. June 26th, Elen Lyne gave me a quarter's warning. June 27th, showrs of rayne and hayle. Aug. 19th, the Hexameron Brytanicum† put to printing.

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* The brother of the celebrated astrologer before mentioned.

† "Dr. Dee dwelt in a house neere the water side, a little westward from the church [at Mortlake]. The buildings which Sir Fr. Crane erected for working of tapestry hangings, and are still (1673) employed to that use, were built upon the ground whereon Dr. Dee's laboratory and other roomes for that use stood. Upon the west is a square court, and the next is the house wherein Dr. Dee dwelt, now inhabited by one Mr. Selbury, and further west his garden."—MS. Ashm. 1788, fol. 149. The same account says that "Dr. Dee was wel beloved and respected of all persons of quality thereabouts, who very often invited him to their houses or came to his."

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Nov. 3rd, William Rogers of Mortlak, abowt 7 of the clok in the morning, cut ~~his own throte, by~~ the fende his instigation. Nov. 6th, Sir Umfrey Gilbert cam to me to Mortlak. Nov. 18th, borowed of Mr. Edward Hynde of Mortlak £30 to be repayed at Hallowtyde next yere. Nov. 20th, two tydes in the forenone, the first 2 or 3 howres to sone. Nov. 22nd, I rod to Windsor to the Q. Majestie. Nov. 25th, I spake with the Quene hora quinta. Nov. 28th, I spake with the Quene hora quinta; I spake with Mr. Secretary Walsingham.* I declared to the Quene her title to Greenland, Estetiland and Friseland.

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* This of course is his celebrated Monas Hieroglyphica, frequently printed, and the nature of which I attempted to explain in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries. Mr. Herbert, according to MS. Ashm. 1788, "dwelt then in Mortlack and was an intimate friend of Dr. Dee's."

† This was his work printed in 1577 under the title of General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the perfect Art of Navigation, in folio, now a book of the greatest rarity. The original manuscript of it is in MS. Ashm. 1789, and Dee's own copy of the published work with MS. notes and additions is preserved in the British Museum. In his Letter Apologetical, 4to. Lond. 1603, he cites this work under the title of The Brytish Monarchie, as having been written in the year 1576.

Dec. 1st, I spake with Sir Christofer Hatton; he was made knight that day. Dec. 1st, I went from the cowrte at Wyndsore. Dec. 30th, inexplissima illa calumnia de R. Edwardo, iniquissime aliqua ex parte in me denunciabatur: ante aliquos elapsos dies, sed . . . . sua sapientia me innocentem.

1578. Feb. 5th, sponsalia cum Jana Fromonds horam circiter primam. April 28th, I caused Sir Rowland Haywood to examyn Francys Baily of his sklandering me, which he denyed utterly. June 13th, rayn and in the afternone a little thunder. June 30th, I told Mr. Daniel Rogers,† Mr. Hackluyt of the Middle Temple being by, that Kyng Arthur and King Maty, both of them, did conquier Gelindia, lately called Friseland, which he so noted presently in his written copy of Monumethensis,‡ for he had no printed boke therof. July 14th, my sister Elizabeth Fromonds cam to me. July 27th, hora 9, min. 15 a meridie Francis Cowntess of Hertford.

Aug. 5th, Mr. Raynolds of Bridewell tok his leave of me as he passed toward Darthmowth to go with Sir Umfry Gilbert toward Hocheleya. Aug. 15, I went toward Norwich with my work of Imperium Brytanicum.§ Aug. 23rd, I cam to London from Norwich. Aug. 31st, I went to my father-in-law Mr. Fromonds to Cheyham.

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* Ashmole informs us that Walsingham continued for a length of time one of Dr. Dee's best patrons.

† Rogers was a member of the University of Oxford, and a large commonplace-book in his handwriting is in Archbishop Tenison's library in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

‡ That is, Galfridus Monumetensis de gestis regum Britanniæ. Hackluyt mentions this fact in his collection of voyages.

§ This is the book just mentioned under the title of General and Rare Memorials, fol. Lond. 1577.

Sept. 1st, I cam from Cheyham. Sept. 6th, Elen Lyne, my mayden, departed from this life immediately after the myd-day past, when she had lyne sik a month lacking one day. Sept. 12th, Jane Gaele cam to my servyce, and she must have four nobles by the yere, 26*s.* 8*d.* Sept. 25th, Her Majestie cam to Richemond from Grenwich. Sept. 26, the first rayn that came for many a day; all pasture abowt us was withered: rayn afternone like Aprill showres. Oct. 8th, the Quene's Majestie had conference with me at Richemond inter 9 et 11. Oct. 16th, Dr. Bayly conferred of the Quene her disease. Oct. 22nd, Jane Fromonds went to the court at Richemond. Oct. 25th, a fit from 9 afternone to 1 after mydnight. Oct. 28, the Erle of Lecester and Sir Francys Walsingham, secretary, determined my going over for the Quene's Majestie. Nov. 4th, I was directed to my voyage by the Erle of Lecester and Mr. Secretary Walsingham hora nona. Nov. 7th, I cam to Gravesende. Nov. 9th, I went from Lee to sea. Nov. 14th, I cam to Hamburgh hora tertia. Dec. 11th, to Franckfurt-uppon-Oder. Dec. 15th, newes of Turnifer's comming hora octava mane, by a speciall mesenger.

1579. A moyst Marche and not wyndy. June 10th, I shewed to Mr. John Lewis and his sonne, the physition, the manner of drawing aromaticall oyles. At that tyme my cat got a fledge yong sparrow which had onely a right wyng naturally. June 15th, my mother surrendred Mortlak howses and land, and had state geven in plena curia ad terminum vitæ, and to me was also the reversion delivered per virgam, and to my wife Jane by me, and after to my heirs and assignes for ever, to understand, Mr. Bullok and Mr. Taylor, surveyor, at Wimbledon, under the tree by the church. June 22nd, Mr. Richard Hickman and Barthilmew his nephew cam to me with Mr. Flowr, commended by Mr. Vicechamberlayn Sir Christopher Hatton.

July 6th, Mr. Hitchcok, who had travayled in the plat for fishing, made acquayntance with me, and offred me great curtesy.

July 13th, Arthurus Dee natus * puer mane hor. 4 min. 30 fere, vel potius min. 25, in ipso ortu solis, ut existimo. After 10 of the clock this night my wive's father Mr. Fromonds was speechles, and died on Tuesday (July 14th) at 4 of the clock in the morning. July 16th, Arthur was christened at 3 of the clok afternone; Mr. Dyer and Mr. Doctor Lewys, judg of the Admiralty, were his godfathers; and Mistres Blanche Pary of the Privie Chamber his godmother. But Mr. John Harbert of Estshene was deputy for Dr. Lewys, and Mystres Awbrey was deputy for my cosen Mistres Blanche Pary.

Aug. 8th, John Elmeston,† student of Oxford, cam to me for dialling. Aug. 9th, Jane Dee churched. Aug. 16th, Monsieur cam secretly to the court from Calays. Aug. 20th, wyndy, clowdy, rayny. Aug. 26, Monsieur went back agayn, to France. Sept. 10th, my dream of being naked, and my skyn all overwrowght with work like some kinde of tuft mockado, with crosses blew and red; and on my left arme, abowt the arme, in a wreath, this word I red—sine me nihil potestis facere: and another the same night of Mr. Secretary Walsingham, Mr. Candish, and myself.

Oct. 3rd, Sir Leonel Ducket his unkend letter for mony. Oct. 4th, goodman Hilton requested me for his ij. sonnes to resort to my howse. Oct. 5th, raging wynde at West and Southerly, in the night chefely. Oct. 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, great rayne for three or four dayes and nights. Oct. 13th, this day it broke up; the fote bote for the ferry at Kew was drowned and six persons, by the negligens of the ferryman overwhelming the boat uppon the roap set there to help, by reason of the vehement and high waters. Oct. 18th, Mr. Adrian Gilbert and John Davys reconcyled themselves to me, and disclosed some of Emery his most unhonest,

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* His horoscope is in MS. Ashm. 1788. "Mr. Arthur Dee's birth was accompanied by the unhappy accident of the death of Mr. Fromonds, his mother's father, who died that morning."—MS. Ashm. 1790, fol. 63.

† This person is not noticed by the Oxford biographers.

hypocriticall, and devilish dealings and devises agaynst me and other, and likewise of that errant strompet her abominable wordes and dedes; and John Davis sayd that he might curse the tyme that ever he knew Emery, and so much followed his wicked cownsayle and advyse. So just is God! Oct. 31st, payed xx*s.* fyne for me and Jane my wife to the Lord of Wimbleton (the Quene), by goodman Burton of Putney, for the surrender taken of my mother of all she hath in Mortlak to Jane and me, and than to my heyres and assynes, &c.

angry at
[illegible]

Nov. 25th, the Lord Clinton cam to me and offred Skirbeck by Boston for Long Lednam. Nov. 29th, I receyved a letter from Mr. Thomas Jones. Dec. 9th, *Θις νιγτ μι ϝυιφ δρεμιδ θατ ονε καμ το ἑρ ανδ τουχεδ ἑρ, σαιυνγ, "Μιστρες Δεε, you αρ κονκειϝεδ οφ χιλδ, ὑος ναμε μυστ βε Ζαχαριας; βε οφ γυδ χερε, ἑ σαλ δο ϝυελ ας θις δοθ!"* * Dec. 22nd, I payd Jane 13*s.* and ~~4*d.* for~~ her wagys tyll Michelmas last, for the half yere, so that I owe her yet 6*s.* 8*d.* Dec. 28th, I reveled to Roger Coke † the gret secret of the elixir of the salt *οφ ακετελς ονε υππον α υνδρεδ.*

1580. Jan. 13th, I gave my wife mony for the month. Jan. 16th, Arthur fell sick, stuffed with cold fleym, could not slepe, had no stomach to eat or drink as he had done before. Feb. 26th, this night the fyre all in flame cam into my maydens chamber agayne, betwene an eleven and twelve of the cloke; contynued half an howr terribly, so it did a yere before to the same maydens, Mary Cunstable and Jane Gele. May 17th, at the Moscovy howse for the Cathay voyage. June 3rd, Mr. A. Gilbert and J. Davys rod homward into Devonshire. June 7th, Mr. Skydmor and his wife lay at my howse and Mr. Skydmor's dowghter, and the Quene's dwarf Mrs. Tomasin. June 8th, my wife went with Mistres Skydmor to the court. June 12th, Mr. Zackinson and Mr. Cater lay at my howse, having supped at my Lady Crofts. June 14th, Mr. Fosku of the Wardrip lay at my howse, and went the next day to London with Mr. Coweller. July 15th, the Lady Croft went from Mortlak to the court at Otlands. June 30th, payd Jane 20*s*. for thre quarters' wages, so that all that is due is payd, and all other recknengs likewise is payd her 6*s*. 8*d*.; and Mary Constable was payd all old reknings 15*s*., and my wife had eleven pounds to dischardge all for thirteen wekes next, that is, till the 5th of November: I delivered Mr. Williams, the person of Tendring, a lettre of atturney agaynst one White of Colchester, for a sklaundre.

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* Dee has occasionally made use of Greek letters for the preservation of his notes, still retaining the English language. The present passage may as well be given:—"This night my wife dreamed that one cam to her and touched her, saying, 'Mistres Dee, you are conceived of child, whose name must be Zacharias; be of good chere, he sal do well as this doth!'"

† In a more appropriate place I shall give from an Ashmolean manuscript a traditionary anecdote relating to this Roger Coke, or Cooke, and the great secret which Dee revealed to him.

Aug. 27th, Arthur was weaned this night first. Aug. 28th, my dealing with Sir Humfrey Gilbert for his graunt of discovery. Aug. 30th, Nurse Darant was discharged and had 10*s*. given her, which was the whole quarter's wages due at a fortnight after Michelmas.

Sept. 6th, the Quene's Majestie cam to Richemond. Sept. 10th, Sir Humfry Gilbert graunted me my request to him, made by letter, for the royaltyes of discovery all to the North above the parallell of the 50 degree of latitude, in the presence of Stoner, Sir John Gilbert, his servant or reteiner; and thereuppon toke me by the hand with faithfull promises in his lodging of John Cooke's howse in Wichcross strete, where wee dyned onely us three together, being Satterday. Sept. 13th, Mr. Lock browght Benjamyn his sonne to me: his eldest sonne also, called Zacharie, cam then with him. Sept. 17th, the Quene's Majestie cam from Rychemond in her coach, the higher way of Mortlak felde, and whan she cam right against the church she turned down toward my howse: and when she was against my garden in the felde she stode there a good while, and than cam ynto the street at the great gate of the felde, where she espyed me at my doore making obeysains to her Majestie; she beckend her hand for me; I cam to her coach side, she ~~very~~ speedily pulled off her glove and gave me her ~~hand to~~ kiss; ~~and~~ to be short, asked me to resort to her court, and to give her to wete when I cam ther; hor. 6¼ a meridie. Sept. 14th, I began against Vincent Murphyn. Sept. 15th, I wrote to the bishop of London. Sept. 22nd, my declaration against Vincent Murphin put into the court of Geldhall.

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Oct. 3rd, on Munday, at 11 of the clok before none, I delivered my two rolls of the Quene's Majesties title unto herself in the garden at Richemond, who appointed after dynner to heare furder of the matter. Therfore betwene one and two afternone, I was sent for into her highnes Pryvy Chamber, where the Lord Threasurer allso was, who, having the matter slightly then in consultation, did seme to dowt much that I had or could make the argument probable for her highnes' title so as I pretended. Wheruppon I ~~was to~~ declare to his honor more playnely, and at his leyser, what I had sayd and could say therin, which I did on Tuesday and Wensday following, at his chamber, where he used me very honorably on his behalf. Oct. 7th, on Fryday I cam to my Lord Threasorer, and he being told of my being without, and allso I standing before him at his comming furth, did not or would not speak to me, I dowt not of some new greif conceyved. Oct. 10th, the Quene's Majestie, to my great cumfort (hora quinta), cam with her trayn from the court and at my dore graciously calling me to her, on horsbak, exhorted me briefly to take my mother's death patiently, and withall told me that the Lord Threasorer had gretly commended my doings for her title, which he had to examyn, which title in two rolls he had browght home two howrs before; she remembred allso how at my wive's death it was her fortune likewise to call uppon me.* At 4 of the clok in the morning my mother Jane Dee dyed at Mortlak; she made a godly ende: God be praysed therfore! She was 77 yere old. Oct. 20th, I had by my jury at Geldhall £100 damages awarded me against Vincent Murphyn the cosener. Oct. 22nd, with much ado I had judgment against Murfin at Geldhall. My mervaylous horsnes and in manner spechelesnes toke me, being nothing at all otherwise sick. Oct. 25th, Morrice Kyffin departed from me with my leave. Nov. 2nd, the Lord Threasorer sent me a haunche of venison. Thomas Suttley had the bishop of Canterbury his letter for Sir Richard. Nov. 3rd, I writt to my Lord Threasurer. Nov. 6th, Helen cam to my servyse. Nov. 12th, somwhat better in my voyce. Nov. 22nd, the blasing star* I cold see no more, though it were a cler night. Dec. 1st, newes cam by Dr. Deny from Ireland of the Italiens overthrow whom the Pope had sent, the Quene lying at Richemond. Dec. 6th, the Quene removed from Richmond. Dec. 8th, recepi literas Roma, scriptas per fratrem Laudervicea.

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* His first wife died on the 16th of March 1575, when "the Queen's Majestie, with her most honourable Privy Council, and other her Lords and Nobility, came purposely to have visited my library: but finding that my wife was within four houres before buried out of the house, her Majestie refused to come in; but willed to fetch my glass

1581.† Feb. 9th, I agreed with Mr. Gentle Godolphin for to release the coosener Vincent Murphin. Feb. 11th, Harry Prise, of Lewsam, cam to me at Mortlak, and told of his dreames often repeated, and uppon my prayer to God this night, his dreame was confirmed, and better instruction given. Feb. 12th, Sir William Harbert cam to Mortlak. Feb. 23rd, I made acquayntance with Joannes Bodinus, in the Chambre of Presence at Westminster, the embassador being by from Monsieur. Feb. 26th, a very fayr calm warm day.

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so famous, and to show unto her some of the properties of it, which I did; her Majestie being taken down from her horse by the Earle of Leicester, Master of the Horse, at the church wall of Mortlake, did see some of the properties of that glass, to her Majestie's great contentment and delight."—*Compendious Memorial*, p. 516. This glass is spoken of again.

[*] Dee has made a rough sketch of the appearance of this comet, with its long tail, on the margin of the MS.

[†] An original diary of the chemical experiments made by Dr. Dee in this year is preserved in the Bodleian Library.—MS. Rawl. Miscel. 241.

March 8th, it was the 8 day, being Wensday, hora noctis 10, 11, the strange noyse in my ~~chamber of knocking~~; and the voyce, ten tymes repeted, somewhat like the shrich of ~~an~~ owle, but more longly drawn, and more softly~~, as it were in~~ my chamber. March 12th, all reckenings payd to Mr. Hudson, £11. 17*s*. March 13th, Elizabeth Kyrton cam to my servys. March 23rd, at Mortlak cam to me Hugh Smyth, who had returned from Magellan straights and Vaygatz; after that, raynie, stormie wynde, S. W. March 25th, Helen was hyred at our Lady day for the yere for fowr nobles wagis; she had her covenant peny, and allso vj*s*. viij*d*. for her payns taken synce she came. April 3rd, I ryd toward Snedgreene, to John Browne, to here and see the manner of the doings. April 14th, I cam home from Snedgreene. May 25th, I had sight in *Χρυσταλλῳ* offerd me, and I saw. June 7th, hora 7½ mane nata est Katharina Dee. June 10th, baptisata a meridie hor. 5½ Katharina. Mr. Packington of the court, my Lady Katarin Crofts, wife to Sir James Crofts, Mr. Controller of the Quene's household, Mystres Mary Skydmor of the Privie Chamber, and cosen to the Quene, by theyr deputies christened Katharin Dee. June 17th, yong Mr. Hawkins, who had byn with Sir Francis Drake, cam to me to Mortlake. June 30th, Mr. John Leonard Haller, of Hallerstein, by Worms in Germany, receyved his instructions manifold for his jornay to Quinsay, which jornay I moved him unto, and instructed him plentifully for the variation of the compas, observing in all places as he passed.

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[illegible]
[illegible]

July 6th, my wife churched. July 7th, in the morning at 1¾ after mydnight, Mr. Hinde his sonne born. July 10th, my right sholder and elbow-joynt were so extremely in payn that I was not able in 14 dayes to lift my arme owtward not an ynche; the payn was extreme; I used Mr. Larder, Mr. Alles, and Alise Davyes, and abowt the 25 day I mended. July 12th, abowt 10 of the clock ½ before noone *ρογερ ιs ινκρεδιβλε δογγεδνες ανδ ινγρατεφυλνες αγαινs με το μι φακε, αλμοστ ρεδι το λαι νιολεντ ανδs ον με, μαγερ ενρικ καν παρτελι τελ.* At the same day the Erle of Lecester fell fowly owt with the Erle of Sussex, Lord Chamberlayn, calling each other traytor, whereuppon both were commanded to kepe theyr chambers at Greenwich, wher the court was. July 19th, Mr. Henrick went to London to visit his wife and children. July 26th, Mr. Haylok cam, and goodman King with him. July 28th, Mr. Collens did ride into Lincolneshire.

Aug. 3rd, all the night very strange knocking and rapping in my chamber. Aug. 4th, and this night likewise. Katharin was sent home from nurse Maspely, of Barnes, for fear of her mayd's sicknes, and goodwife Benet gave her suck. Aug. 11th, Katharine Dee was shifted to nurse Garret at Petersham on Fryday, the next day after St. Lawrence day, being the 11th day of the month; my wife went on foot with her, and Ellen Cole, my mayd, George and Benjamin, in very great showres of rayn. Aug. 12th, recepi literas a D. Doctore Andrea Hess occultæ philosophiæ studioso, per Richardi Hesketh amici mei, Antwerpiæ agentis, diligentiam in negociis meis, et recepi, una cum literis, Mercurii Mensitam seu Sigillam Planetarum. Aug. 26th, abowt 8½ (at night) a strange meteore in forme of a white clowde crossing galaxiam, whan it lay north and sowth over our zenith; this clowd was at length from the S. E. to the S. W. sharp at both endes, and in the west ende it was forked for a while; it was abowt sixty degrees high, it lasteth an howr, all the skye clere ~~abowt, and~~ fayr starshyne.

Sept.* 5th, Roger Cook, who had byn with me from his 14 yeres of age till 28, of a melancholik nature, pycking and devising occasions of just cause to depart on the suddayn, abowt 4 of the clok in the afternone requested of me lycense to depart, wheruppon rose whott words between us; and he, imagining with hisself that he had the 12 of July deserved my great displeasure and finding himself barred from vew of my philosophicall dealing with Mr. Henrik, thowght that he was utterly recest from intended goodnes toward him. Notwithstanding Roger Cook his unseamely dealing, I promised him, yf he used himself toward me now in his absens, one hundred pounds* as sone as of my own clene hability I myght spare so much; and moreover, if he used himself well in lif toward God and the world, I promised him some pretty alchimicall experiments, whereuppon he might honestly live. Sept. 7th, Roger Cook went for alltogether from me. Sept. 29th, Robert Gardner, of Shrewsbury, cam to my servyce.

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* Dr. Dee, in the Rawlinson MS. just quoted, observes, in his notes on this month, "Mr. Harry Waters went away the 2nd day, malcontent. John Dee, Jesus bless me!"

Oct. 8th, I had newes of the chests of bokes fownd by Owndle in Northamptonshyre; Mr. Barnabas Sawle told me of them, but I fownd no truth in it. Oct. 9th, Barnabas Saul, lying in the . . . . hall was strangely trubled by a spirituall creature abowt mydnight. Oct. 13th, I rod to Sowth Myms. Oct. 14th, to St. Nedes. Oct. 16th, at Mr. Hikman's. Oct. 20th, at Tosseter. Oct. 21st, Oxford, Dr. Cradocke. Oct. 23rd, from Oxford to Wyckam. Oct. 24th, I cam home. Robert Hilton cam to my service. Nov. 16th, the Quene removed to White Hall, and Monsieur with her. Nov. 27th, I rod to Greensede. Nov. 28th, to goodman Wykham, 2 myles beyond Chayly by Lewys. Nov. 29th, I made acquayntance with Mr. George Kylmer for Sir George his bokes. Nov. 30th, I cam home. Dec. 1st, Katharyn Dee her nurse was payd 6*s.* so nothing is owing to her. Dec. 5th, Elen my mayden fell sick. Dec. 7th, George my man had the great fall of the ladder, hora 10 fere mane. Dec. 8th, I sent a letter to Mr. Kylmer. Dec. 22nd, my Lord Chanceler's sonne, Mr. Bromley, and Sir William Herbert cam to me. Helen Cole was payd her wages and reckening tyll this Christmas, and so discharged my servyce, being newly recovered of her ague. Her desyre was to go to her frendes.

1582. Jan. 11th, Robert Gardener desired my leave to go dwell with Sir William Herbert, hora 12. Jan. 16th, Mistris Harbert cam to Essexe. Jan. 17th, Randal Hatton cam home from Samuel's father at Stratton Audley. Jan. 22nd, Arthur Dee and Mary Herbert, they being but 3 yere old the eldest, did make as it wer a shew of childish marriage, of calling ech other husband and wife. Jan. 22, 23rd. The first day Mary Herbert cam to her father's hous at Mortlak, and the second day she cam to her father's howse at Estshene. Jan. 23rd, my wife went to nurse Garret and payd her for this month ending the 26 day. Jan. 27th, Barnabas Sawl his brother cam. Feb. 12th, abowt 9 of the clok, Barnabas Saul and his brother Edward went homward from Mortlak: Saul his inditement being by law fownd insufficient at Westminster Hall: Mr. Serjeant Walmesley, Mr. Owen and Mr. Hyde, his lawyers at the bar for the matter, and Mr. Ive, the clerk of the Crown Office, favouring the other. Feb. 20th, Mr. Bigs of Stentley by Huntingdon and John Littlechild cam to me. I receyved a letter from Barnabas Saul. Feb. 21st, Mr. Skullthorp rod toward Barnabas. Feb. 25th, Mr. Skulthorp cam home. Payd nurse Garret for Katharin tyll Fryday the 23 day, vj*s*. then somethyng due to nurse for iij. pownd of candell and 4 pownd of sope.

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* This probably gave rise to the anecdote which is related in MS. Ashm. 1788, fol. 147, viz. that "he revealed to one Roger Cooke the great secret of the elixar, as he called it, of the salt of metalls, the projection whereof was one upon an hundred."

March 1st, Mr. Clerkson browght Magnus to me at Mortlak, and so went that day agayn. March 6th, Barnabas Saul cam this day agayn abowt one of the clok and went to London the same afternone. He confessed that he neyther hard or saw any spirituall creature any more. March 8th, Mr. Clerkson and his frende cam to my howse. Barnabas went home agayn abowt 3 or 2 clok, he lay not at my howse now; he went, I say, on Thursday, with Mr. Clerkson. March 8th, cœlum ardere et instar sanguinis in diversis partibus rubere visum est circa horam nonam noctis, maxime versus septentrionalem et occidentalem partem: sed ultra capita nostra versus austrum frequenter miles quasi sanguineus. March 9th, Fryday at dynner tyme Mr. Clerkson and

healer for spiritual creatures

Mr. Talbot* declared a great deale of Barnabas nowghty dealing toward me, as in telling Mr. Clerkson ill things of me that I should mak his frend, as that he was wery of me, that I wold so flatter his frende the lerned man that I wold borow him of him. But his frend told me, before my wife and Mr. Clerkson, that a spirituall creature told him that Barnabas had censured both Mr. Clerkson and me. The injuries which this Barnabas had done me diverse wayes were very great. March 22nd, Mr. Talbot went to London, to take his jornay.

April 16th, Nurse Garet had her 6*s*. for her month ending on the 20th day. April 22nd, a goodly showr of rayn this morning early. May 4th, Mr. Talbot went. May 13th, Jane rod to Cheyham. May 15th, nocte circa nonam cometa apparuit in septentrione versus occidentem aliquantulum; cauda versus astrum tendente valde magna, et stella ipsa vix sex gradus super horizontem. May 20th, Robertus Gardinerus Salopiensis lætum mihi attulit nuncium de materia lapidis, divinitus sibi revelatus de qua . . . . . May 23rd, Robert Gardener declared unto me hora 4½ a certeyn great philosophicall secret, as he had termed it, of a spiritua~~ll creatuer, and~~ was this day willed to come to me and declare it, which was solemnly done, and with common prayer. May 28th, Mr. Eton of London cam with his son-in-law Mr. Edward Bragden, as concerning Upton parsonage, to have me to resign or let it unto his said son-in-law, whom I promised to let understand whenever myself wold consent to forego it. June 9th, I writ to the Archbishop of Canterbury a letter in Latin: Mr. Doctor Awbrey did carry it. June 14th, Morryce Kyffin did viset me. June 22nd, Nurse Garret had 6*s*. for a month ending the 18 day of May; she is to have for a month

weather

[illegible]

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* Just above this relation some one has written, "you that rede this underwritten assure yourselfe that yt is a shamfull lye, for Talbot neither studied for any such thinge nor shewed himselfe dishonest in any thinge." Dr. Dee has thus commented upon it:—"This is Mr. Talbot or that lerned man, his own writing in my boke, very unduely as he cam by it." There are several other notices of Talbot erased, but whether by him or by the Doctor it is impossible to say, but most probably the former.

wages ending the 15 day of this June. My wife went this Friday thither with Benjamyn. June 27th, Mystris Stafford arrested me hora 11: I payd all.

July 3rd, hor. 12¼, Arthur Dee fell from the top of the Watergate Stayres down to the fote from the top, and cut his forhed on the right eyebrow. Sir Richard browght the rent. July 6th, in feare of resting by proctor Lewys: tyll 9½ at night from 1 afternone at the Docter's comming. July 12th, Proctor Lewys agred withall. July 13th, Mr. Talbot cam abowt 3 of the clok afternone, with whom I had some wordes of unkendnes: we parted frendely: he sayd that the Lord Morley had the Lord Mountegle his bokes. He promised me some of Doctor Myniver's bokes. July 16th, Mr. William Pole, whome Phillip Simons, somtymes barber to the old Erle of Tavistok, doth knowe, cam to me, and made acquayntance with me: promised to com agayn within xiiij. dayes. Jane my wife went to Nurse Garret's to pay her 12*s*. for her wages due tyll Friday last, which was Saint Margaret's day, and brought her xij*d*. for candles: she went by water; Mistres Lee went with her, and Robyn Jackesbite. Jane this night was sore trubbled with a collick and cramp in her belly; she vomyted this Monday more, and every night grew stiff in the sole likewise. A meridie hor. 3½ cam Sir George Peckham to me to know the tytle for Norombega in respect of Spayn and Portugall parting the whole world's distilleryes. He promysed me of his gift and of his patient .... of the new conquest, and thought to get so moche of Mr. Gerardes gift to be sent me with seale within a few days. July 18th, Barthilmew Knaresburgh his sone borne at break of day abowt 3 of the clok. June 19th, Barnabas Saul came to see me at Mortlak: I chyd hym for his manifold untrue reports. July 23d, Mistris Franklin's sone borne at noone. July 24th, Robert Gardiner cam, and went on the 26th.

Aug. 8th, Kate was sickly. Aug. 11th, Mr. Bacon and Mr. Phillips of the court cam. Aug. 20th, Katarine still seemed to be diseasid. Aug. 25th, Katharin was taken home from nurse Garret of Petersham, and weaned at home. Aug. 31st, Benjamin Lock told me of his father's mynde to send him to Spayn within three or four days. Sept. 1st, I did for Sir John Killegrew devise the way of protestation to save him harmless for compounding with Spaniard who was robbed: he promised me fish against Lent. Sept. 10th, Mr. John Leonard Haller, of Hallersteyn, by Worms in Germany, cam agayn to me, to declare his readines to go toward Quinsay; and how he wold go and ly at Venys all this winter, and from thens to Constantinople. I requested Mr. Charles Sted to help him to make his mony over to Paris and Nuremberg, and to help him with the sercher of Rye to pass his horse, and to help him with Mr. Osborn the alderman with his letters to Constantinople. Sept. 11th, on Tuesday they went to London together, and my wife allso abowt her affayres. Sept. 13th, I writt to Dugenes de Dionigiis to Venys by Mr. John Leonard Haller. Sept. 17th, I writ to the Erle of Osmond. Sept. 29th, Anne cam to my servyse from Mr. Harbert. I payd Mr. Lewys £20, so rest is which I challendg as for my cost and payns for 37 yeres for John his son.

Oct. 12th, I rod to Tundridge. Oct. 13th, I rod from Tundridge to Mr. Coverts at Slawgham. Oct. 15th, I cam home from Slawgham, and dyned at Mr. Holtens, person of Oxstede by Tundridge, a phisitien. Oct. 21st, Jane my wife sowned in the church. Nov. 1st, Mr. Plat, my brother Yong his sonne-in-law, cam to me with a stranger of Trushen, born at Regius Mons: his name is Martinus Faber. The same day cam Mr. Clement the seamaster and Mr. Ingram from Sir George Peckham. Nov. 8th, hayle afternone horam circiter primam: tonitrus circa quartam et sextam. Nov. 9th, Mr. Newbury, who had byn at Cambaya in Inde, cam to me. Nov. 22nd, E. K. went to London, and so the next day conveied by rode toward Blakley, and within ten dayes to returne. Nov. 24th, Saterday night I dremed that I was deade, and afterward my bowels wer taken out I walked and talked with diverse, and among other with the Lord Thresorer who was com to my howse to burn my bokes when I was dead, and thought he loked sourely on me. Dec. 1st, George my man, who had lyne oute all night, this morning used me very dishonestly, and sayd he owed me no seryyce. Mr. Bettgran the justice was not at home. Dec. 13th, thunder in the afternone and at sonne-set. Dec. 15th, the 15th day being cownted the 25, 50, 10 dayes ar imagined spent, which have crept in betwene the day of Crist his birth regarding the place of the sonne, and the sonnes place not the 25th day of this month, whiche a civile æquation, but mathematically and religiusly to be substantiated to be for the true term of the periods of annuall revolutions of the sonne sinse the day of Christ his birth.

1583. Jan. 13th, on Sonday the stage at Paris Garden fell down all at ones, being full of people beholding the bearbayting. Many being killed thereby, more hart, and all amased. The godly expownd it as a due plage of God for the wickednes ther usid, and the Sabath day so profanely spent. Jan. 19th, Mr. John Leonard Haller went to London and so to go toward Scotland. Jan. 23rd, the Ryght Honorable Mr. Secretary Walsingham cam to my howse, where by good lok he found Mr. Awdrian Gilbert, and so talk was begonne of North-west Straights discovery. The Bishop of St. Davyd's (Mr. Middelton) cam to visit me with Mr. Thomas Herbert. The Lord Grey cam to Mr. Secretary, and so they went unto Greenwich(?). Jan. 24th, I, Mr. Awdrian Gilbert, and John Davis went by appointment to Mr. Secretary to Mr. Beale his howse, where onely we four were secret, and we made Mr. Secretarie privie of the N. W. passage, and all charts and rutters were agreed uppon in generall.

Feb. 2nd, Rolandus Dee baptizatus. Feb. 3rd, Mr. Savile, Mr. Powil the yonger, travaylors, Mr. Ottomeen his sonne, cam to be acquaynted with me. Feb. 4th, Mr. Edmunds of the Privie Chamber, Mr. Lee who had byn in Moschovia, cam to be acquaynted with me. Feb. 11th, the Quene lying at Richemond went to Mr. Secretary Walsingham to dynner; she coming by my dore gratiously called me to her, and so I went by her horse side as far as where Mr. Hudson dwelt. *Ερ μαιεστι αξεδ με οβοσκυρελι οφ μουνσιευρις σταγε: διξι βιοθανατος εριτ.* Roland went with his nurse to her howse to Estshene. Feb. 18th, the Lady Walsingham cam suddenly into my howse very freely, and shortly after that she was gone cam Syr Francys hi~~mself and~~ Mr. Dyer. Feb. 24th, Jane churched. Feb. 26th, I delivered my boke to the Lord Threasorer for the correction of the Calender.*

celebrities
visit
Dee

March 6th, I, and Mr. Adrian Gilbert and John Davis, did mete with Mr. Alderman Barnes, Mr. Townson and Mr. Yong and Mr. Hudson, abowt the N.W. voyage. March 17th, Mr. John Davys went to Chelsey with Mr. Adrian Gilbert to Mr. Radforths, and so the 18th day from thence toward Devonshyre. March 18th, Mr. North from Poland, after he had byn with the Quene he cam to me. I receyved salutation from Alaski, Palatine in Poland; salutation by Mr. North who cam before to the Quene, and next to me was his message, hor. 12. Nurse Lydgatt at Estshene was payd for 5 pound candell, 6 pound sope, and the wagis due from Rowland his birth. April 18th, the Quene went from Richemond toward Grenwich, and at her going on horsbak, being new up, she called for me by Mr. Rawly his putting her in mynde, and she sayd "quod defertur non aufertur," and ~~gave me her~~ right hand ~~to kisse~~. April 24th, nurse was payd for Rowland all her wagis tyll Monday the 22 of this month, 16 pence a weke: she had all her candell and sope before.

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* This work, although never entirely printed, created much sensation at the time, and was the cause of considerable controversy among the politicians as well as literati. The Memorial on this subject which Dee presented to the Privy Council has been printed by Hearne and others, but it is not generally known that the original manuscript of the actual treatise on the correction of the Calendar is still preserved in Ashmole's library, No. 1789, and is the very book which Dee alludes to above. It is inscribed "to the Right Honorable and my singular good Lorde, the Lorde Burghley, Lorde Threasorer of Englande," with the following verses:—

"To *ὅτι* and *το διοτι*,
I shew the thing and reason why;
At large, in breif, in middle wise,
I humbly give a playne advise;
For want of tyme, the tyme untrew
Yf I have myst, commaund anew
Your honor may. So shall you see
That love of truth doth govern me."

The work itself is entitled, "A playne Discourse and humble Advise for our Gratious Queene Elizabeth, her most Excellent Majestie to peruse and consider, as concerning the needful Reformation of the Vulgar Kalender for the civile yeres and daies accompting, or verifyeng, according to the tyme truely spent."

May 1st, Albertus Laski, Polonus, Palatinus Scradensis, venit Londinum.* May 4th, Mr. Adrian Gilbert and Mr. Pepler went by water to Braynford, and so to ride into Devonshire. May 7th, E. K. went toward London, and so to go homeward for 10 or 12 dayes. Dies Quadragesimus a die Veneris ante Pascham. May 13th, I becam acquaynted with Albertus Laski at 7½ at night, in the Erle of Lecester his chamber in the court at Greenwich. This day was my lease of Devonshyre mynes sealed at Sir Leonell Ducket's hows. May 18th, the Prince Albertus Laski cam to me at Mortlake, with onely two men. He cam at afternone and tarryed supper, and after sone set. Nurse Rowland was payd all tyll the 20th of this month. June 15th, abowt 5 of the clok cam the Polonian Prince Lord Albert Lasky down from Bissham, where he had lodged the night before, being returned from Oxford whither he had gon of purpose to see the universityes, wher he was very honorably used and enterteyned. He had in his company Lord Russell, Sir Philip Sydney, and other gentlemen: he was rowed by the Quene's men, he had the barge covered with the Quene's cloth, the Quene's trumpeters, &c. He cam of purpose to do me honor, for which God be praysed! June 19th, the Lord Albert Laski cam to me and lay at my hows all nyght. Nurse Rowland payd her wagis ending the 17th day of this month.

July 1st, Master Mills his answer of no hopes in my sute at

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* "The year of our Lorde God 1583, the laste daye of Aprill, the Duke or Prince of Vascos in Polonia, came to London and was lodged at Winchester Howse."—MS. Douce, 363, fol. 125. This account differs from Dee's by a single day.

Grenewich. July 7th, George was dismissed my servys and payd all reconings in the presens of goodman Hilton and Mistres Kelly in my study. July 10th, Thomas Hoke of Cranford cam to my service, but he went away agayn the 23 day of this month. July 30th, the Quene removed on Tuesday from Greenwich to Sion by water; coming by my dore . . . . July 31st, the Quene's gift of 40 angells [*] sent by the Erle of Lecester his secretarie Mr. Lloyd, throwgh the Erle his speche to the Quene. Mr. Rawlegh his letter unto me of hir Majesties good disposition unto me. Aug. 1st, John Halton minister dwelling in London with . . . . bowed in and looked, and the . . . . a Wurcetershire man, a wicked spy cam to my howse, whom I used as an honest man, and found nothing wrong as I thought. I was sent to E. K. Aug. 7th, Mr. William Burrow passed by me. Aug. 14th, payd nurse Lydgatt for Rowland for two monthes ending the 12th day. Aug. 18th, a great tempest of wynde at mydnyght. Maxima era E. K. cum uxore ejus. Sept. 21st, we went from Mortlake, and so the Lord Albert Lasky, I, Mr. E. Kelly, our wives, my children and familie, we went toward our two ships attending for us, seven or eight myle below Gravessende.

[illegible]

1586. July 10th, Mr. William Maynard natus hora 12 noctis, vel paulo post, Londini. Sept. 14th, Trebonam venimus. Oct. 18th, E. K. recessit a Trebona versus Pragam curru delatus; mansit hic per tres hebdomadas. Nov. 8th, illustrissimus princeps versus Pragam; iter instituit hora tertia a meridie. Nov. 14th, rescripsi ad Victorem Reinholdum. Nov. 19th, to the glas hows. Nov. 21st, Michael was begone to be weaned. Nov. 22nd, recepi literas Jacobi Memschiti. Dec. 8th, Monday abowt none Mr. Edward Garland cam to Trebona to mee from the Emperor of Moschovia, according to the articles before sent unto me by Thomas Hankinson. Dec. 11th, St. Poloniensis obiit: natus anno 1530 die 13 Januarii, hora quarta mane min. 26, in Transylvania. Obiit, hora secunda post mediam noctem, ut intellexi ex literis D^{ni} Lasky, receptis die 29 per Alexandrum. Dec. 19th, 19die (novi kalendarii) ad gratificandum Domino Edouardo Garlando, et Francisco suo fratri, qui Edouardus nuncius mihi missus erat ab Imperatore Moschoviæ ut ad illum venirem, E. K. fecit proleolem lapidis in proportione unius . . . . . . gravi arenæ super quod vulgaris oz. et ½ et producta est optimi auri oz. fere: quod aurum post distribuimus a crucibolo una dedimus Edouardo. Dec. 30th, E. K. versus Pragam.

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[*] "Her Majestie being informed by the Right Honourable Earle of Leicester, that whereas the same day in the morning he had told me that his Honour and Lord Laskey would dine with me within two dayes after, I confessed sincerely unto him that I was not able to prepare them a convenient dinner, unless I should presently sell some of my plate or some of my pewter for it. Whereupon her Majestie sent unto me very royally within one hour after forty angels of gold from Sion, whether her Majestie was now come by water from Greenwich."—Dr. Dee's Compendious Memoriall, p. 511.

1587. Jan. 8th, cam Nicolas du Haut, Frenchman of Lorrayn, who had byn lackay to my frende Otho Henrick Duke of Brunswik and Lienburgh, to seke a servyse, being dismissed by passport from his Lord after his long sikenes. Jan. 14th, Doctor Reinholdt of Salfeldt cam to Trebona with Abraham. His sute of the salt. Doctor Reinholdt revisit versus Pragam 20 die. Jan. 18th, rediit E. K. a Praga. E. K. browght with him from the Lord Rosenberg to my wyfe a chayne and juell estemed at 300 duckettes; 200 the juell stones, and 100 the gold. Jan. 21st, E. K. again to Prage and so to Poland ward. Feb. 5th, I tok a jornay of myself from Trebon to Newhowse, two myles of, to mete my Lord to comen with him. I toke two horsemen of the cyty with me. Feb. 9th, Illustriss.* venit a Vienna ad Trebonam. Feb. 12th, ivit Illustriss. versus Crocoviam. Feb. 19th, E. K.† cam from Poland abowt none to Trebone: I sent word to my Lord straight. Feb. 21st, my Lord sending no word yet, I sent another message. March 3rd, a Cremona ad Trebonam. March 7th, E. K. dedit nobis 300 ducata. Recepimus a Domino Illustrissimo 3300. March 9th, iter regium. March 14th, venimus Reichstein. March 17th, reditus a Reichstein. March 21st, E. K. gave me 170 more, and of the 200 for changing 60 remayne. Contumelie et contemptus a Cholek et a Schonberg. March 23rd, venimus Trebonam. March 26th, the Lord Biberstein, comming from Cranbaw from the Lord Rosenberg, passing by Trebona, sent for me to his ynn to make acquayntance with me. E. K. equitavit Crotoviam. April 4th, actio tertia incepit. April 18th, actionis tertiæ finis. May 1st, vidi (doctore meo premonstrante) Michaelium Nuncium non Mersaelem. Laus sit Deo et doctori meo E. K.! June 14th, nuptiæ Domini Thomæ Kelei. June 17th, *αφτερ θις φυλ μονε ιανε ἀδ θεμ νοτ*. June 22nd, Mr. Francis Garland went toward England from Trebona.

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* He frequently speaks of Prince Albert Leski under the title of Illustrissimus.

† It is almost unnecessary to observe that these initials refer to Edward Kelly.

July 5th, Sonday, I set the two erthes with theyr water agayn uppon them. July 9th, Mr. Francis Pucci cam and browght Chrisan Franken with him, who, he sayd, had now recanted his wycked boke against Christ, wherof I was glad. Illustrissimus cum Domina venerat Trebona. July 11th, colloquium inter Illustrissimum Dominum, Dominum E. K. et me, a meridie, inter nos tres. July 13th, Francys Pacci recessit. July 19th, a certayn kinde of recommendation between our wives. Next day saw relenting of E. K. also by my Lord's entrety. July 20th, Illustrissimus abiit cum principissa sua versus Cremoniam. Aug. 13th, amice cum Domino Edouardo Keleo de tribus illis votis. Aug. 17th, E. K. cum fratre et Ludovico . . . . Aug. 18th, we understode how E. K. went to Badwise to bed, and went but this day at none from thence. Aug. 20th, John Basset cam to Trebona. Aug. 23rd, Mr. E. K. cam from Lyntz fayre. Sept. 1st, Tuesday morning, covenanted with John Basset to teach the children the Latyn tong, and I do give him seven duckats by the quarter, and the term to begyne this day; and so I gave him presently seven duckatts Hungary, in gold, before my wife. God spede his work! Sept. 3rd, 4th, continua quasi pluvia per biduum istud. Sept. 4th, Basset his hurlyburly with Mr. T. Kelly. Sept. 16th, the Lord Biberstein cam to Trebon, and Cracht with him. Sept. 22nd, my Lord cum from Crummow to Trebon with my Lady. Sept. 26th, my Lord went toward Prage. Sept. 28th, I delivered to Mr. Ed. Kelley (ernestly requiring it as his part) the half of all the animall which was made. It is to weigh 20 ownces; he wayed it himself in my chamber: he bowght his waights purposely for it. My Lord had spoken to me before for some, but Mr. Kelly had not spoken. Sept. 30th, T. K. and J. C.* went toward Prage.

Oct. 12th, Mr. E. K. toward Prage on horsbak. Oct. 13th, mane paulo ante ortum solis observavi radio astronomico inter . . . . . et . . . . . gradus 2 minuta prima 22, et erat . . . . . sub Tauro in eadem linea perpendiculari ante oculum demissa super horizonta altitudo erat vix quatuor graduum. Oct. 15th, hyred Nicolas. Oct. 20th, I toke up the furniture for the action. Oct. 26th, Mr. Edward Kelly cam to Trebona from Prage. Oct. 28th and 29th, John Carp did begyn to make furnaces over the gate, and he used of my rownd bricks, and for the yern pot was contented now to use the lesser bricks, 60 to make a furnace. Oct. 31st, Ed. Hilton cam to Trebona in the morning. Nov. 8th, E. K. terribilis expostulatio, accusatio, &c. hora tertia a meridie. Nov. 17th, John Basset had seven ducketts beforehand for his second quarter's wages, begynning the 1st. Nov. 21st, Saterday at night Mr. Francis Garland cam from England to Trebona and browght me a letter from Mr. Dyer and my brother Mr. Richard. Nov. 24th, at the marriag super Critzin the Grand Captayn disdayned to com thither to supper in the Rad howse of Trebona becawse E. K. and I were there; and sayd farder that we wer . . . . Dec. 1st to 11th, my Lord lay at Trebon and my Lady all this tyme. Dec. 10th, Mr. John Carpio went toward Prage to marry the mayden he had trubbled; for the Emperor's Majestie, by my Lord Rosenberg's means, had so ordred the matter. Dec.

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* That is, Thomas Kelley and John Carp.

12th, afternone somwhat, Mr. Ed. Keley his lamp overthrow, the spirit of wyne long spent to nere, and the glas being not stayed with buks abowt it, as it was wont to be; and the same glas so flitting on one side, the spirit was spilled out, and burnt all that was on the table where it stode, lynnen and written bokes,—as the bok of Zacharius with the Alkanor that I translated out of French for som by spirituall could not; Rowlaschy his thrid boke of waters philosophicall; the boke called Angelicum Opus, all in pictures of the work from the beginning to the end; the copy of the man of Badwise Conclusions for the Transmution of metalls; and 40 leaves in 4°, intitled, Extractiones Dunstani, which he himself extracted and noted out of Dunstan his boke, and the very boke of Dunstan was but cast on the bed hard by from the table.

1588. Jan. 1st, abowt nine of the clok afternone, Michel, going chilyshly with a sharp stik of eight ynches long and a little wax candell light on the top of it, did fall uppon the playn bords in Marie's chamber, and the sharp point of the stik entred throwgh the lid of his left ey toward the corner next the nose, and so persed throwgh, insomuch that great abundance of blud cam out under the lid; ~~in~~ the very corner of the sayd eye; the hole on the owtside is not bygger then a pyn's hed; it was anoynted with St. John's oyle. The boy slept well. God spede the rest of the cure! The next day after it apperid that the first towch of the stikes point was at the very myddle of the apple of the ey, and so (by God's mercy and favor) glanced to the place where it entred; with the strength of his hed and the fire of his fulness, I may make some shew of it to the prayse of God for his mercies and protection. Jan. 11th, Nicolas was sore hart circa 8½ hora nocte. Jan. 13th, at dynner tyme Mr. Edward Kelly sent his brother, Mr. Th. K. to me with these words, "My brother sayth that you study so much, and therfor, seeing it is to late to go to day to Cromlaw, he wisheth you to come to pass the tyme with him at play." I went after dynner and playd, he and I against Mr. F. Gore and Mr. Rob tyll supper tyme, in his dynyng rome: and after supper he cam and the others, and we playd there two or three howres, and frendely departed. This was then after the great and wonderful unkindnes used toward me in taking my man. Jan. 14th, Mr. Edward Kelly rid to Crumlow, being sent for by my Lord. I receyved a letter from the Lord Chamberlain. Jan. 18th, Mistres Lidda K. had an abortion of a girle of 5 or 6 monthes; she was mery and well till the night before; I helped to finde the dead birthe within one howr after I had caused her to have myrh given unto her in wyne warmed, the quarter of a ounce; better after she was discharged of the secondyne, and all at ones. The woman was sufficiently strong after. Jan. 19th, Mr. E. K. cam from Crumlow. Feb. 4th, Mr. Francys Garland and his brother Robert went from Trebona to go toward England: I wrote to Mr. Dyer and Mr. Yonge. Feb. 8th, Mr. E. K ~~at nine of~~ the clok afternone sent for me to his laboratory over the gate to se how he distilled sericon, according as in tyme past and of late he hard of me out of Riplay. God lend his hart to all charity and virtue! Feb. 16th, John Carpe cam to Trebon after his marriage. Feb. 19th, Mr. E. K. did *δισκλοσε σομ, ακκουντεδ μι φρενδες, ὀνν υντρυ θει υνερ*. Feb. 28th, mane paulo ante ortum solis natus est Theodorus Trebonianus Dee, ascendente Sirio in horoscopo, die dominica. March 1st, baptisatus erat Theodorus Dee Trebonæ ante meridiem. March 6th, I went to Newhous and dyned at the castell. March 12th, my Lord cam to Trebona and my Lady. March 24th, Mr. K. put the glas in dung. March 26th, my Lord sent one of his secretaries with answer to my letter, and with offer and promys of all where he can pleasure me, circa 5 post meridiem. March 29th, my Lord and Lady from Trebon toward Crumlow. The midwife's husbond's name of Newhowse is David Peregrinus, perhaps of the familie of Petrus Peregrinus, otherwise called Peter of Maharncourt, of Picardy.

[illegible]

April 3rd, Mr. Pucci disquietted Mr. E. K. abowt requesting an action, to which he had one of our six monthes actions, being now the term begynning the fourth day of this month. The ende of our talke was a strange spech of Mr. Kelly to Fr.

Puccy. After 15 wekes write to me, and I will answer you. April 6th, Edmond Hilton went from Trebona toward Prage with Mr. John Carpe, and so toward England. April 10th, I writ to Mr. Edward Kelly and to Mistres Kelly ij. charitable letters, requiring at theyr hands mutual charity. I went to Mr. Captain Chritzin, to know if he were offended to me, who in outward shew used me reasonably curteously. April 12th, my wife churched, and we receyved the communion. John Carpe browght his wife from Prage to Trebona. April 17th, Doctor Reinholt cam to Trebona. April 22nd, nocte hora 9 terribilis et falsa accusatio vel suspicio, quod Puccia annunciavit contra D. K. et ipsum principia(?). May 1st, Mr. Carpio rid to my Lord to the holy well at the glass hows, four myles from Trebona, with my letters of purgation for Puccies his attempts or intents in his letters to my bond and Mr. Kelly, unknown to me. May 4th, Mr. Carpio browght me word of my Lord's displeasure, conveyed and confirmed by cozen Pully his letters. Deus ille sit propitius ! May 7th, post afflictionem magnam meam, mei misertus est Deus ! Puccia, die eodem venerunt literæ Principis ad Dominum E. K., quæ dies declarabat amici sui infamum meum ne dignitatem : sed non reddebatur nisi valde præfex, valde erat ingratæ ille literæ ipsi Domino E. K. Misericordia Dei magna ! Omne quod vivit laudet Deum ! Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus ! May 10th, E. K. did open the great secret to me, God be thanked ! May 19th, hora 10 cum circumstantiis necessariis. May 22nd, Mistris Kelly received the sacrament, and to me and my wife gave her hand in charity ; and we rushed not from her. May 30th, Michael was sik of an ague, and Mr. Kelly likewise. June 4th, the howses burnt at Trebon in the morning early on Whitsonday. June 8th, Illustrissimus venit Trebonam. June 11th, Illustrissimus recessit in Dominica a Trebona versus Pragam. My Lord sent Critzin with his compliments unto me, and to offer me help, hora prima a meridie. A letter cam from T. G. of Mr. Dyer, his being three myle from Trebona, but it was not so. Mr. Dier sent word by

Francis Garland wher. June 13th, cam Francis Garland and Mr. Edmond Cooper, brother to Mistris Kelly, to Trebona. June 16th, Francis Garland went to fynde and bring Mr. Dier. June 19th, I had a grudging of the ague. June 22nd, I did evydently receive the ague, and layd down.

July 7th, Mr. Thomas Sowthwell cam to Trebona to visit us. July 17th, Mr. Thomas Sowthwell of his own courteous nature did labor with Mr. Edmond Cowper and indirectly with Mistres Kelly for to furder charity and frendship among us. July 20th, Mr. Dier cam to Trebona. July 22nd, a meridie circa 10 Mr. Edward διερ διδ ινιυριε με υνκινδελε. July 23rd, reconciliatio bona cum Magistro διερ υυιθ υυυρδς φακτο μεδιαντε E. K. Aug. 1st, Mr. Harry Maynard natus nocte circa horam 11 Mortlak. Aug. 4th, Illustrissimus cam from Crachovia to Trebon, and there on Friday before dynner cam up Mr. Dyer, who lay in my chamber, and entertayned him honorably. Aug. 5th, after dynner the little boy, sonne to the Captayn of Rhaudnitz, hurt Arthur's nose with a raser, not in anger but by chance wantonly. Aug. 6th, my Lord and Lady went toward Prage. Aug. 7th, this day I covenanted and hyred John Hammond, jentleman, to serve me in his honest servyces for one yere, and to have 30 dolers for his full and all manner of wages. Aug. 9th, Tuesday, Mr. Dyer went from Trebon, having in company Mr. Edmond Cowper, Francys Garland, and his man Rowley. Aug. 13th, Mr. Thomas Sowthwell ryd to Prag ward from Trebon. He told us of the philosopher (his scholemaster to write) whose name was Mr. Swyft, who gave him a lump of the philosopher's stone so big as his fist: a Jesuit named Mr. Stale had it of him. Aug. 14th, Mr. Sowthwell cam againe. Aug. 24th, vidi divinam aquam demonstratione magnifici domini et amici mei incomparabilis D. Ed. Kelei ante meridiem tertia hora. Aug. 27th, John Basset (so namyng himself) otherwise truely named Edward Whitlok, under pretence of going to Budweiss to buy cullors and so to return agayn, did convey himselfe from my servyce of teaching Arthur grammer. Sept. 3rd, my lord and lady cam to Trebon. Sept. 12th, spes confirmata. Sept. 15th, the Lord Chamberlain cam to Trebona, and went away on the 17th. The rancor and dissimulation now evident to me, God deliver me! I was not sent for.

Oct. 17th, Mystres Kelly and the rest rode toward Punchartz in the morning. Oct. 18th, my Lord and my Lady ryd toward Ctumnate. Oct. 25th, Mr. Ed. Kelley and John Carpio rode toward Prage: this night to Wesely, two myles. Nov. 5th, I dreamed that the toth next my top toth skarse cold hang in my hed, the toth on the right side above. Nov. 6th, Mr. Kelly cam home from Prage and Mr. Francys Garland, and Edward Rolls with him from Eglis. Nov. 15th, in the fornone, snow and close clowdy. Nov. 16th, the Lord and Lady Rosenberg cam from Crummedo to Trebon in the evening. Nov. 20th, this Sonday before dynner the Lord and Lady Rosenberg went from Trebon toward Prage. Nov. 23rd, Mr. Francis Garland and Edward Rowly, Mr. Dyer his servant, went from Trebón toward England. I writ to the Quene's Majestie, Mr. Dyer, Mr. Yong, and Edward Hilton. Dec. 4th, I gave to Mr. Ed. Kelley my Glass, so highly and long estemed of our Quene, and the Emperor Randolph the second, de quo in præfatione Euclidis fit mentio.* The letter of 500,000 ducats required. Dec. 7th, *γρεατ φρενδκιπ προμισιδ φορ μανι, ανδ τυνο ουνκες οφ θε θινγ.* Dec. 13th, Mr. Edward Kelley gave me the water, erth and all. Dec. 14th, Edmond Hilton cam again to Trebon from England. Dec. 18th, I did understand by Mr. Kelley that my glass which he had given to my Lord Rosenberg, the Lord Rosenberg had given it to the Emperor. Dec. 23rd, I went to the new made citie Kaiser Radnef Stadt, by Budneis, to ovirsee what Joachim Reimer had done abowt my coaches making. Radulphus Sagiensis Gallus Normannus, venit Trebonam, chimiæ et naturalis magiæ studiosus.

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* This refers to the earliest English translation of Euclid by Billingsley, which was published in 1570, with a long preface by Dr. Dee. Professor De Morgan is of opinion that the translation also was by Dee, or that Billingsley may have been only a pupil who worked immediately under his directions. The passage to which Dee alludes is as follows:—"a man to be curstly affrayed of his owne shadow; yea, so much to feare, that if you, being alone nere a certaine glasse, and proffer, with dagger or sword, to foyne at the glasse, you shall suddenly be moved to give backe (in maner) by reason of an image appearing in the ayre betwene you and the glasse with like hand, sword, or dagger, and with like quicknes, foyning at your very eye, likewise as you do at the glasse. Straunge this is to heare of, but more mervailous to behold then these my wordes cam signifie; and neverthelesse by demonstration opticall the order and cause therof is certified; even so, as the effect is consequent." I refer the reader also to Mr. Barlow's History of Optics in the Encyclopedia Metropolitana.

1589. Jan. 3rd, Rudolphus Sagiensis Normannus recessit versus Pragam. Jan. 17th, the humming in my eares began. Jan. 19th, circa undecimam noctis abortiebatur Domina Lydda uxor D. Thomæ Kelly ex duobus masculis vix sex mensium, et anno precedente hoc ejusdem uxor abortiebatur puella. Jan. 20th, Mr. Kelly showed me the Lord Rosenberg his letter; when he wrot that of me he hard no more of my going hens, and if Menschik hath not performed as he willed him, that if I send him word he will so dispatch me that therby I shall not nede to stay here, as he had confidently heretofore warned Mr. Kelley, so now he did request him to take leve of me at my departure. And then Mr. Kelly did loke and truly confess that my .... Jan. 25th, Mr. Mains cam to visit us; the Erle of Schwiczenbagh thre sones. Jan. 31st, Tuesday, I sent Edmond Hilton to Prage, and Zacharias Mathias of Buelweiss, to buy 10 or 12 coach horses and saddell horses for 300 dollers. Feb. 4th, I delivered to Mr. Kelley the powder, the bokes, the glas and the bone, for the Lord Rosenberg; and he thereuppon gave me dischardg in writing of his own hand subscribed and sealed. Feb. 12th, Edmond Hilton cam from Prage with nine Hungarian horses bowght toward our jornay. Feb. 16th, Mr. Edward Kelley rode toward Prage after none, John Carpio, Edmond Hilton, Henry Garlande, Thomas Simkinson, Lodovik. March 11th, from Trebon in Bohemia. March 18th, to Nuremberg. March 20th, from Nuremberg. March 26th, to Frankfurt on the Mane.

April 19th, to Breme. May 1st, Katharin by a blow on the eare given by her mother did bled at the nose very much, which did stay for an howre and more; afterward she did walk into the town with nurse; upon her coming home she bled agayn. May 11th, John of Gloles cam to Breme. May 13th, I cam to lie at my hyred hows. May 17th, the three saddle horse put to grass to the town meddowes for nine ducets tyll Mychelmas. May 21st, the Landgrave of Hesse his letters to me and the city of Breme. May 25th, I sent the Lantgrave my twelve Hungarish horses. June 2nd and 13th, Mr. Duerend and Mr. Hart went toward Stade. They had scaped from the Spanish servise in Flanders with Syr William Stanley. June 6th, Dr. Kenrich Khanradt of Hamburgh visitted me. Mr. Thomas Kelly his wife, Francis Garland, Rolls, from Standen toward England. June 16th, Edmund Hilton toward Prage. June 19th, Hans of Glotz went toward Standen, and so toward England. June 23rd, Mr. Daniel van der Multon cam to me. Ultima die mensis istius circa meridiem maximi imbres, tonitrua, grandines.

[illegible]

July 6th, Thursday the 26th of June (by the old accownt and the 6th of July by new accownt) Mr. Hart, the minister of the English company, and Mr. . . . . . . the governor's deputy of the English company at Stade, did visit me at my howse in Breme. July 18th, Mr. Yong and Mr. Secretary his letter. July 30th, Edmond Hilton cam from Prage to Breme by Stade. Aug. 2nd, veteri stilo, the nyght following, my terrible dream that Mr. Kelly wold by force bereave me of my bokes, toward daybreak. Aug. 5th, novo stylo, Edmond Hilton went toward Stade, to go toward England, with my letters to disclose the treason of Perkins. Ther went in this company two English people, Mr. Rolous Tattin and George Losin. Aug. 7th, the first of the seven half fasts. Aug. 14th, Theodor wened. Aug. 21st, John Hammond to Stade. Aug. 22nd, natus William Hazilwood mane hora sexta fere, forte hora 5 min. 45, by Maydston in Kent. Sept. 9th, Roger his serviceable letters of the Lord Rosenberg. Sept. 12th, the wynde cam East after five wekes most part West. Sept. 16th, ante meridiem hora

dream

9 in delinquiciis A. C. incidi ex ingratitudine concepta ex verbis uxoris, et Anallæ Mariæ. Sept. 22nd, stilo veteri, I delivered to Mr. Jacob for England by Embden my letters.

Oct. 3rd, D. Witischindi his hard dealings with me: he bad Mr. Harper the Secretary to give me warning of my howse. Oct. 9th, warned out of my howse hora prima a meridie. Oct. 14th, John Hanward gave me warning that he desyred to go travayle toward Italy; but first to Master Kelly of whome he hoped to have good help. Oct. 17th, Mr. Sowthwell and Mr. Gawyne Smyth cam to me to Bream. Oct. 23rd, Mr. Sowthwell and Mr. Smyth went from Bream. Oct. 29th, Wenefrida Goose inter 9 et 10 a meridie. Oct 31st, letters sent to Stade for Gerwein Greven for her Majestie, Mr. Yong, and Mr. Dyer. Nov. 1st, newes of Mr. Dyer sent ambassador to Denmarke. Nov. 3rd, stilo veteri, I resolved to go into England, hoping to mete Mr. Edward Kelly at Stade, going also into England; and that I suspected uppon Mr. Secretary Walsingham his letters. Nov. 13th, Edmond Hilton and his brother from England, and John a Glotz. Nov. 17th, die lunæ, I met Mr. Dyer comming to Stade, even in the myddle of the town. Nov. 18th, Edmond to Stade ward. Nov. 19th, toke ship by the Vineyard. Dec. 2nd, we cam into the Tems to Gravesende. Dec. 3rd, from the ship to Stratford to Mr. Yong's howse. Dec. 19th, at Richemond with the Queene's Majestie.* Dec. 20th, agreed for my howse with Nicolas Fromonds to occupy as a tenant with better order. Dec. 25th, I lay this night first at my howse. Dec. 29th, Mr. Adrian Gilbert cam to me to Mortlak, and offred me as much as I could require at his hands, both for my goods carryed away, and for the mynes.

1590. Jan. 15th, a terrible tempest of wind, South by West. Jan. 23rd, Mr. Thomas Kelly cam from Brainford; put me in good hope of Sir Edward Kelly his returning: offered me the loane of ten pownds in gold, and afterward sent it me in Hungary new ducketes by John Croker, the same evening. Jan. 26th, I writt to Mr. Adrian Gilbert two letters. I resolved of the order to be offred for agreement with Nicholas Fromonds for my howse and goodes. The 5th of March (by old accownt) was Madinia Newton, my daughter, christened at Mortlak; godfather, Sir George Cary; godmothers, the Lady Cobham and the Lady Walsingham. March 12th, Mrs. Anne Deny born betweene 8 and 9 afternoone. March 14th, Mr. Dyer cam home from Stade. March 17th, Sir Edward Kelly his letter by Francis Garland. March 21st, Sir George Cary cam to Mortlak. March 27th, Jane apprehended hora quinta a meridie.* My children at this Lady Day in Lent, began to go to schole at Mortlak with the scholemaster Mr. Lee: I gave him his howse-rent and forty shillings yerely for my three sons and my doughter. The howse-rent was allmost 4*s.* yerely of Mr. Fisher his new howse. April 7th, John Spenser cam to me, from Venys new returned, and told me of the Venetian philosopher and the goodnes of his gold. April 16th, good Sir Francis Walsingham died at night hora undecima. April 19th, I delivered my letters to Mr. Thomas Kelley for his brother Sir Edward Kelley, knight, at the Emperor's court at Prage. Francys Garland was by, and Mr. Thomas Kelley his wife. God send them well thither and hither agayn! Mr. Emery had disbursed to me frankly betwene the tyme from Shrovetyde tyll this May £25. May 5th, Mr. Thomas Jack restored unto me part of my magnes stone. May 8th, I receyved 20 mark from Sir Richard Lagney, of Longlernay. May 16th, I gave Mr. Lee the scholemaster 5*s.* in part of wages. May 18th, the two gentlemen, the unckle Mr. Richard Candish, and his nephew the most famous Mr. Thomas

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* Where, according to Aubrey, who received his information from Lilly, he was very favourably received by her Majesty.

* There are a great many brief notices in this diary relative to Jane Dee, most of which are expressed in astrological symbols; and as they are exceedingly difficult to decipher satisfactorily, and are certainly of very little, if any importance, I have thought it expedient to omit them. The entry of "*Ιαυε ἀδ θεμ*" is also of frequent occurrence, though what "*θεμ*" can refer to I have not been able to discover.

Candish,* who had sayled rownd abowt the world, did viset me at Mortlake. May 20th, after dynner, I with my brother, Mr. Justice Yong, went to the Archebishop of Canterbury to Lambeth, abowt the personagis who used me well. May 21st, I showed my indignation against Bacchus feast at Braynferd intended; gave the Bishop of London warning, who toke it in very good part. Katharyne, my dowghter, was put to Mistres Brayce at Braynferd, hir mother and Arthur went with her after dynner. May 23rd, I lent to goodman Dalton, the carpenter, xx*s*. for a month. May 29th, 30th, bona nova de industria Domini Richardi Candishii, cum Regina et Archiepiscopo et Domino Georgio Carey, de propositione Etonensis Collegii obtinendi legem. He sent me a hogshed of claret wyne as a gyft. The Lady Cobham sent my wyfe suger and pepper, &c. June 2nd, I writ to Syr Edward Kelly by Mr. William Fowler, merchant, dwelling by Ledenhall. June 3rd, I was very sik uppon two or thre sage leaves eten in the morning; better suddenly at night; when I cast them up, I was well. The pump taken out and the well skoured. June 5th, Thomas Hankinson and Antony my man cam from beyond the seas to Mortlak. June 5th, terrible yll newes of Edward Kelly against me. June 24th, £20 of Mr. Candish by Edward Hilton. June 28th, I payd Mr. Hudson for all his corn, and also for the wood tyll May, receyved synce I cam home.

July 6th, Mr. Stockden was all payd for his wood 40*s*. I gave the scholemaster Mr. Lee 5*s*. in part of wagis: he browght me my hammer from Mr. Jak, so he hath a quarter's wagis 10*s*. July 8th, I receyved Sir Edward Kelly his letters, dated at Prage the 24th of May stylo novo. No mention is made of his brother Mr. Thomas Kelly coming over. July 10th, the executor of the Lady Ducket requered the det. July 11th, I payd nurse Barwik 12*s*. for ii. monthis wagis for Madinia: so she is payd for five monthes.

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* Dee has preserved several interesting notices of his intimacies with the principal navigators of his time. A general reference to Hackluyt will be sufficient.

July 13th, I went to the Archbishop of Canterbury: talked with him boldly of my right to the personages, and to the treatise of Sir Edward Kelley his Alchimy. July 14th, Mr. Gawayn Smyth spake frendely for me to the Quene, and she disclosed her favor toward me. July 16th, my mynde was somewhat bent to deale with my alchimicall exercises. July 25th, I ~~writ a letter of~~ thanks to the Lord Threasorer by Edmond Hilton. I sent the Lord Chancellor his letters from Brunswyk, of Conrad Nettlebronner his ill behaviour. July 31st, I gave Mr. Richard Candish the copy of Paracelsus twelve lettres, written in French with my own hand; and he promised me, before my wife, never to disclose to any that he hath it; and that yf he dye before me he will restore it agayn to me; but if I dy befor him, that he shall deliver it to one of my sonnes, most fit among them to have it. Theoddor had a sore fall on his mowth ~~at~~ mid-day. Aug. 2nd, Mrs. Stoner's sonne born circa horam tertiam a meridie. Nurs her great affliction of mynde. Aug. 5th, Rowland fell into the Tems over hed and eares abowt noone or somewhat after. Aug. 8th, I gave Nurse Barwick six shillings, so she is payd for the half yere due on Weynsday next. Aug. 9th, I payd to Mr. Lee the scholemaster 5*s*. Aug. 22nd, Ann my nurse had long ~~byn~~ tempted by a wycked spirit: but this day it was evident how she was possessed of him. God is, hath byn, and shall be her protector and deliverer! Amen. Aug. 25th, Anne Frank was sorowfol, well comforted and stayed in God's mercyes acknowledging. Aug. 26th, at night I anoynted (in the name of Jesus) Ann Frank her brest with the holy oyle. Aug. 30th, in the morning she required to be anoynted, and I did very devowtly prepare myself, and pray for vertue and powr and Christ his blessing of the oyle to the expulsion of the wycked; and then twyse anoynted, the wycked one did resest a while. Sept. 1st, I receyved letters from Sir Edward Kelley by Francis Garland. Sept. 8th, Nurse Anne Frank ~~wold have~~ drowned hirself in my well, but by divine Providence I cam to take her up befor she was overcome of the water. Sept. 23rd, Sonday, I gave

alchemy

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Nurse Barwyk six shillings for a monthis wages to ende on Wensday comme a fortnight; Mrs. Stackden was by. Sept. 29th, Nurse Anne Frank most miserably did cut her owne throte, afternone abowt four of the clok, pretending to be in prayer before ner keeper, and suddenly and very quickly rising from prayer, and going toward her chamber, as the mayden her keper thowght, but indede straight way down the stayrs into the hall of the other howse, behinde the doore, did that horrible act; and the mayden who wayted on her at the stayr-fote followed her, and missed to fynde her in three or fowr ~~places,~~ tyll ~~at~~ length she hard her rattle in her owne blud. [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

Oct. 11th, Mr. Cumber cam to me. Oct. 14th, payd Nurse Barwik six shillings for one month ending on the seventh, being Wensday. Oct. 15th, this afternoone and all the night following a great storme of wynde at North-West. One Prychard that had marryed Proctor Lewes his widdow, demaunded £24 of me uppon an obligation of £64: whereof by the very note on the bak of the same £48 is payd, so that £16 only remayne and not £24, as he unduely demanded: which £16 I challenged for the costes of his sonne John, three yeres and longer being with me in Mortlak, and having also his lerning free. Notwithstanding my wife afraid payd a pownd or two to Mr. Lewys of that £16, and yet Prichard will go to law. Nov. 12th, the Archbishop of Canterbury gave me £5 in ryalls and angels circa horam decimam matutina. Nov. 20th, Her Majestie cam to Richemond. Nov. 27th, the Quene's Majestie, being at Richemont, graciously sent for me. I cam to her at three quarters of the clok afternone, and she sayd she wold send me something to kepe Christmas with. Nov. 28th, Mr. Candish on Saterday gave my wife forty shillings, and on Tuesday after sent £10 in ryalls and angels, and before he sent me £20, £32 in all. My cousin Mr. Thomas Junes cam in the ende of the terme about St. Andrew's even. Dec. 1st, Her Majestie commaunded Mr. John Herbert, Master of Requests, to write to the Commissioners in my behalf. Dec. 2nd, order taken by the Commissioners for my howse and goods. Her Majesty told Mr. Candish that she wold send me an hundred angels to kepe my Christmas withall. Dec. 3rd, goodwife Tyndale payd for Antony his lodging for eleven wekes dew at his going away 5*s.* 6*d.*, and before she had for seven wekes. Dec. 4th, the Quene's Majestie called for me at my dore circa 3½ a meridie as she passed by, and I met her at Estshene gate, where she graciously, putting down her mask, did say with mery chere, "I thank thee, Dee; there was never promisse made but it was broken or kept." I understode her Majesty to mean of the hundred angels she promised to have sent me this day, as she yesternight told Mr. Richard Candish. Dec. 6th, Mr. Thomas Griffith my cosen from Llanbeder cam to see me, and lay all night with me, and allso Mr. Thomas Jones, and in the Monday morning went by water to London, and so the same day homeward. A meridie circa 3ª recepi a Regina Domina £50. Dec. 8th, at Chelsey disputing with Doctor Mather, bishop of Bristow; in danger of water hora 5½ I stayed at Chelsey. Dec. 14th, the Quene's Majestie called for me at my dore as she rod by to take ayre, and I met her at Estshene gate. Dec. 16th, Mr. Candish receyved from the Quene's Majestie warrant by word of mowth to assure me to do what I wold in philosophie and alchimie, and none shold chek, controll, or molest me; and ~~she sayd that~~ she wold ere long send me £50 more to make up the hundred pound. I gave Mr. Candish the Bishop of Scotland his conclusion with marchaunts. Mr. Candish went from Mortlak at four of clok at nyght toward London and so into Suffolk. Dec. 18th, Mr. Robert Maynard natus circa horam decimam ante meridiem Londini.

Queen.
Elizabeth
with Dee

[illegible]

1591. Jan. 21st, utterly put owt of hope for recovering the two parsonages* by the Lord Archbishop and the Lord Threasorer. Feb. 13th, Bartilmew cam up. March 2th, borrowed £20 uppon plate and payd this day £19 in Mortlak. March 21st, remember that on Passion Sunday, being the 21st of March by our accownt, all things was payd for to Mr. Thomas Hudson for wood and corne, abowt £14, at his howse when he was syk of the strangury. Allso to godman Bedell was payd £4 for billet, baven, and lose fagot the same day. Payd likewise to gudwife Wesder eight shillings for one monthes nursing of Madinia, and 4*s.* more beforehande. March 26th, Mr. Beale sent me home the first my own hand copy of the volume of Famous and Rich Discoveries[*] which I had given anno 1583 to Andrew Strange.

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* See the "Compendious Rehearsall," published by Hearne from a Manuscript in the Cottonian collection, now partially destroyed by fire, for a more extended account of this.

huge record of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

May 12th, I payd goodwife Welder xij*s.* for vij. wekes ending then next from the Wensday before Ester-day last. May 25th, of the old Kalander, Sir Thomas Jones Knight (unaxed) offred me his castell of Emlyn in Wales to dwell in so long as he had any interest in it, whose lease dureth yet twelve yeres, freely, with commodityes adjoining unto it; and allso to have as much mow land for rent, as myght pleasure me sufficiently. The 27th day he confirmed the same his offer agayn before Mr. John Harbert, Master of the Requestes, in his hall in Mortlak; which his offers I did accept of, and he was glad thereof. May 31st, Bartilmew [Hickman] cam up and browght Jane his dowghter with him. Mr. R. Ed. his boke and letter. June 8th, William Aspland of Essex and Th. Collen. June 12th, lent Chronica Hollandiæ Magna to Mr. Beale on Saterday manuscript, which Mr. Webb lent me. June 14th, Jane Hikman to goodwife Tyndall's to lern. June 27th, Arthur wownded on his hed by his own wanton throwing of a brik-bat upright, and not well avoyding the fall of it agayn, at Mr. Harberts abowt sonn-setting. The half-brik weighed 2½lb. June 30, Madinia was taken home from goodwife Welder.

July 28th, Mr. Dyer sent me xx. angels by Mr. Thomas Webbes. July 30th, reconciliation betweene Mr. Dyer and me solemnized the afternone on Friday, and on Saterday (the 31st) all day tyll my going by boat at Mr. Webb's lodging at Rochester Howse. July 31st, by old Kalender, abowt an eleven of the clok Jane was at London very faynt syke, redy to swownd, and in a faynt swete. It was thowght that then she quickened. The last of Julie, Saterday by the old accownt, Barthelmew cam up; he went down on Tuesday, the 3rd day of August, from Mortlak. Aug. 2nd, Monday, Mr. William Diggs his philosophicall curtesy all day. Sept. 22nd, Madinia fell from the bed and hurt her forhed abowt one of the clok afternone. Oct. 15th, after midnight very wyndy northerly. Oct. 23rd, a storm of wynde S.W. afternone. Dec. 3rd, wyndie S.W. Dec. 14th, I had a very jentle answer at the Lord Thresorer's hand hora decima ante meridiem at the court of Whitehall. Dec. 20th, a jentle answer of the Lord Threasorer that the Quene wold have me have something at this promotion of bishops at hand.

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[*] Now in the Cottonian collection. Ashmole has preserved a copy of it in MS. Ashm. 1790.

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1592. Jan. 1st, my dowghter Francys borne on New Yeres day at the sun-rising exactly. Jan. 2nd, Barthilmew and his brother Ambrose cam this Sonday to Mortlak. Jan. 9th, Francys christened afternone. Francys went with her nurse to Barne Elms. Mr. Edward Maynard borne in the morning betwene 2 and 3 after mydnight. Arthur fell into a quotidian jentle ague at 9 of the clok in the morning as he was at the servyce in the hall. Jan. 24th, Mr. Thomas Oliver becam acquaynted with me at Mortlak. March 6th, the Quene granted my sute to Dr. Awbrey. March 9th, the pryvy seale at night. March 16th, the great seale. March 18th, Arthur and Katharine were let blud at London by Doctor Dodding's cownsayle. March 24th, £25 Mr. Tho. Mownson. March 25th, I payd £10 to Nicholas Fromonds paulo ante solis occasum, when he most abhominably revyled me. March 30th, on Thursday Mr. Saunders of Ewell sent home my great sea cumpas, but without a nedle; it cam in the night by water.

April 5th, the Lady Russell robbed a little after mydnight of perles, diamands, &c. One John Smyth is suspected, a yong man of thirty yeres old, very ingenious in many handyworkes, melancholek. April 8th, Richard cam to my servyce, 40*s.* yerely and a livery. April 9th, 10th, agreed with my brother Nicholas Fromonds with Mr. Webbs, at 8 of the clok on Wensday night, and 8 on Tuesday night. April 14th, Winifrede Goose, wife of goodman Goose of Tuddington, dowghter of Harry Wyse, eviley tempted, cam to me with her sister. April 16th, δε θεσαυρο α βοκ. April 27th, filius Mariæ Nevell hora 3½ a meridie et aliquantus tardus by Chichester. May 3rd, Wensday, at 10 of the clok Arthur was put to Westmynster Schole under Mr. Grant and Mr. Camden. May 11th, I borowed ten pound of Master Thomas Smith to be paid at Christmas next. May 12th, great wynde at north. May 15th, Marian cam again a meridie hora septima. May 16th, I rode to Harfelde to the Lord Anderson, Lord Justice of the Common Pleas, 12 myles off. May 25th, hora sexta a meridie mowght have byn a quarell betwene Mr. Web and Mr. Morgan with one eye for £4. left unpayd uppon a bill. June 16th, Sir John Perrot judged to be drawn, hanged, and quartered.

July 23rd, at Grenwich abowt mydnight following this day began the first evydent shew of my grief of kidneys; whereuppon Doctor Giffard caused me to have a glyster, and so the next day I was easid of my grief. July 29th, Robert Theneth of Rushmer by Ypswych made acquaintance with me: he told me of Mr. Carter a man of 80 yeres old in Yorkshyre. Aug. 6th, I went to Nonsuch to the court, wyder the Countess of Warwik sent me word by Mr. Ferdinando of the Quene's gratious speches at St. Crosses, and the Lord Archbishop told me the like. Aug. 8th, after the midnight of Monday, being the 7th day, the second fytt of the stone in my kydnes did molest me for 6 or 7 howres. Aug. 9th, the Lord Threasorer invited me to dynner at Mr. Maynards at Mortlak, where Sir Robert Cecill and Sir Thomas Cisell and his lady wer allso. The Lord Threasorer allso sent me some venison to supper. He invited me to dynner allso the tenth day, where the Lord Cobham cam also to dynner, and after dynner he

nettle [illegible]
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requested the Lord Threasorer to help me to St. Crosses, which he promised to do his best in. Aug. 11th, Mr. Kemp of Micheam, my old acquayntance, abowt an eleven of clok (allmost) before none, told me of the rare appearing. Aug. 17th, I went to Micheam to Mr. Kemp. Aug. 21st, I went to the Lord Cobham and the Lady Cobham to London. Aug. 23rd, Mr. Cholmely and his mayde ante meridiem hor. 11½. The humor so suddenly falling into the calf of my left leg as if a stone had hit me. Aug. 26th, Mr. Heriot 40*s*.* Auditor Hill, £4. Remember all thing is payd to our nurse at Barnes for the girle Francys Dee from hir birth untyll the ende of her eight month, lacking 12*s*., and on Sunday, the 27th of this August, we so concluded, when we gave the nurse ten shillings. The eight month ended (from Newyere's day morning last) the 12th of this month. Sept. 4th, 5th, 6th, very tempestuous, windy at West, Sowtherly. Sept. 5th, the Tems very shallow at London. Sept. 6th, goodman Warryn of Marketharborogh. Robert Web cam from Mr. Ponsoys to write, and is to com agayn within thre wekes. Sept. 7th, Robert Charles of Northamptonchyre and goodman Warren of Marketharborow in my howse at Mortlak promised me to help Barthilmew Hikman with £12 to pay on Michelmas Day next to discharge the bond for his brother-in-law. This they promised uppon condition I wold be bownd to them to see them repayd agayn. I sent a letter to Sir Robert Thaneth to Rushmer by Ypswych by the wagonman who is at ynn at the George in Lombard Streete. He sayd that Robert Thaneth was at home and well. Sept. 19th, I had on the Sunday abowt 7 of the clok afternone the cramp most extremely in the very centre of the calves of both my legs, and in the place where I had the suddeyn grief on Bartilmew-even last I had payn so intollerable as yf the vaynes or artheries wold have broken by extreme stretching, or how els I cannot tell. The payn lasted abowt half a quarter of an howr. I toke my purgation of six grayns. I began in the morning to drink the drink for the stone in the kydney. Sept. 28th, Mr. Laiesley promised me ten shepe and four quarters of wheat. Sept. 30th, Elizabeth Denby went from me to Mistres Herberts' to servyce.

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* This entry is not very clear. It either refers perhaps to Harriot, the celebrated mathematician, or to the London goldsmith whom the Abbotsford novelist has immortalized.

Oct. 13th, I exhibited to the Archbishop of Canterbury two bokes of blasphemie against Christ and the Holy Ghoste, desyring him to cause them to be confuted: one was Christian Franken, printed anno 1585 in Poland; the other was of one Sombius against one Carolius, printed at Ingolstad anno 1582 in octavo. Oct. 14th, 15th, a mighty wynde at sowth-west. Oct. 30th, 31st, one of these two dayes I hurt my left shyn against the sharp small end of a wooden rammar ~~abowt four of the clok after~~none. Nov. 1st, Mr. Ashly, his wife, and their familie, did com to my howse and remayned ther. They had my mother's chamber, the mayde's chamber, and all the other howse. Nov. 9th, Her Majestie's grant of my supplication for commissioners to comme to me. The Lady Warwik obteyned it. Nov. 22nd, the commissioners from Her Majestie, Mr. Secretary Wolly and Sir Thomas George, cam to Mortlak to my howse. Nov. 28th, to Richard Walkdyne of his wagis 20*s*. Dec. 1st, a little after none the very vertuous Cowntess of Warwik sent me word very speedily by hir gentleman Mr. Jones from the cowrt at Hampton Cowrt that this day Her Majestie had granted to send me spedily an hundred marks, and that Sir Thomas George had very honorably dealt for me in the cause. Dec. 2nd, Sir Thomas George browght me a hundred marks from her Majestie. Dec. 24th to 31st, at Mr. Lurensey of Tooting all these days, and Newyere's Day allso, and so cam home by coach (as we went) by Tuesday none, I, my wyfe, Arthur, Kate, &c. Dec. 31st, at Tooting at Mr. R. Luresey his howse; abowt thre of the clok after dynner dyd the Bishop of Laigham serve process uppon me for the nangle, but most unduely.

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1593. January, the Lord Threasorer lay dangerously syk in the begynning of this month. Jan. 2nd, I cam home from Tooting.

Jan. 7th, I receyved letters from the Lord Lasky from his capitaynate in Livonia, and I wrote answer agayn. Jan. 10th, this day death seased on him. This day at none dyed Edward Maynard just on yere old. Jan. 11th, buried this day at ten of the clok. Jan. 15th, Mr. Ashley, the clerk of the cownsayle, his wife and whole family removed from my howse in Mortlak to theyr howse in London in Holborn, with all his whole family. He and she had used me, my wife and childern, wurshipfully and bowntifully for our frendeship shewed unto them for the lone of our howse and lodgings from Allhallow-tyde last. Master Maynard allso his howsehold removed the 15th and 16th day to London, and my stable free delivered. Jan. 20th, I sent my letters for the Lord Lasky to be carryed in a shyp of Dansk called the John of Dansk. Jan. 21st, Sonday, about none Wenefryde Goose her sone born and died, and she did [there]uppon for old melancholik pangs destroy herself. Memorandum, my nurse at Barnes had xvj*s*. more besides the last 40*s*. in the begynning of this month. Feb. 14th, Francys Dee, she cam from the nurse at Barnes; the woman very unquiet and unthankfull. Feb. 15th, Her Majestie gratiously accepted of my few lynes of thankfulnes delivered unto her by the Cowntess of Warwik hora secunda a meridie at Hampton Court, two or three dayes before the remove to Somerset Howse. Feb. 21st, I borrowed £10 of Mr. Thomas Digges[*] for one hole yere. Feb. 22nd, a sharp anger betwene me and the Bishop of Leightyn in the towr, for that he wold not shew his farder interest to Nangle: he sayd that after I had seen his brode seal of commendation, that I had institution and induction to the Nangle. Then I sayd his lordship did fable. He there uppon that so moved that he called me spitefully "coniver." I told him that he did lye in so saying, and that I wold try on the fleysh of him, or by a bastaned gown of him, if he wer not prisoner in the Towr. Inter

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[*] This notice is particularly interesting, showing the intimate connexion which existed between the ~~first English~~ mathematician of the day and the philosopher of Mortlake.

12ª et 2ª a meridie my sharp anger with the Bishop of Leightyn in the lieftenante's dyning parlor before the Lieutenant Sir Michael Blunt. Mr. Liewtenat Nant and Mr. Blunt are wittnesses. March 12th and 13th, these two nights I dremed much of Mr. Kelly, as if he wer in my howse familiar with his wife and brother. March 17th, Francis Garland cam home and browght me a letter from Mr. Thomas Kelly. I made acquayntance with Syr Thomas Chaloner, Knight, who married sergeant Fletewood's dowghter; Mr. Thomas Webbes was the meanes. At six after none receyved from Mr. Francis Nicholls £15, part of one hundred pounds, the rest whereof £85 is to be receyved from Mr. Nicolls within a fortnight after the Annunciation of Our Lady next; and after that in the beginning of June £100, and in Julie the third hundred powndes: and I am to teach him the conclusion of fixing and teyning the moon, &c.

April 3rd, Bartilmew Hikman and Robert Charles cam up. Letice cam with Barthilmew, and went away agayn. April 8th, Letice cam agayn from Barnet to my servyse. I receyved £50 of Mr. Nichols. April 9th, I gave Barthilmew Hikman £12 in new angels to give and pay to Robert Charles, which he had payd for him at Michelmas last. I gave him allso a double pistolet for his courtesy. Little Adolph Webbes cam to me. April 10th, Barthilmew and Robert Charles went homward. May 7th, Thomas Richardson of Bissham cam to Mortlak to me. May 9th, he and Mr. Laward of the Chandry cam. Our court day at Wymbledon. May 11th, mane hora octava William Emery of Danbery in Essex became my retayner at Mortlak, commended by Mr. Thanet of Rushmer by Ypswich, borne 1568, Julii 4. I gave Robert Web 10*s*. Richard 10*s*. and Elizabeth 3*s*. in the begynning of this month. May 21st, be it remembered that on this xxj. day of May I bargayned with and bowght of Mr. Mark Perpoint, of Mortlak, that next mansion howse with the plat, and all the appertenances abowt it for £32, as the sayd Mr. Perpoint of late had at the last court-day bowght it, and had surrender of it unto him made of Thomas Knaresborowgh for £25 to mydsommer next. Abowt two of the clok after none, before Jane my wife in the strete, I gave him a saffron noble in ernest for a drink peny. Mr. Hawkins, of London, at that instant cam to have bowght it. May 27th, Mr. Francys Blunt, brother to the late Lord Mountjoy, unkle to the Lord Mowntjoy living, and to Sir Charles of the court, cam to be acquaynted to me, he having byn a travayle at Constantinople. June 4th, Barthilmew Hikman cam to Mortlak in the morning. June 22nd, I had my copy of Mr. Roger Dale our stuard, and had £5 the fine released of the Lord his bowntifullnes. I told the stuard that I had bowght the howse of Mr. Mark Perpoynt, and he desyred to see the note of his copy, and so I did. I told Mr. Perpoint that I had byn at London to prepare his mony, and I told him that I had seen the court-roll for his copy. I went to London to fetch the £32 for Mr. Perpoint, and so I sent him word. This evening I browght the mony, but he was gon to bed. This morning I tendered the mony, and told it at goodman Welder's before Mr. Stokden, and goodman Welder, but Mr. Perpoint refused to perform the bargayn. Deus bene vertat!

July 13th, I gave to Robert 5*s.* upon his wagis this day. July 14th, I gave 4*s.* to Letise, part of her noble for her quarter wagis, ending the 9th day of this month. July 18th, I bowght goodman Welder his hovel, which is in the yard of the howse next me, which I bowght of Mr. Mark Perpoint. I gave him a new angel and five new shillings, and he is to have more 5*s.*, that is 20*s.* in all; and if I cannot compact to enter the howse, then hee is to tak his hovel, and to restore it to me. July 21st, I gave to Richard 5*s.* uppon his wagis this day. July 22nd, I payd Mr. Childe £7. 13*s.* 4*d.* for all his wood, xx. lode and vj. July 24th, the offer for the bargayn agayn of Mr. Perpoynt's behalf: this is Mr. Stokden's doing. July 27th, remember that this Friday I payd Mr. Tomson £4 for his master Mr. Herbert, which I borrowed 12th of December 1592: and Mr. Herbert sent it agayn to my furder use by Mistres Lee. Aug. 7th, Mystres Twyne and Mystres Banister cam to viset me. Mr. Bele and Mrs. Bele, Mistres Plan, Mrs. Parpoint, &c. dyned with me. I gave Robert Web 5*s.*; he sent it to Mr. Homes. Aug. 9th, I dyned with the Lord Keper at Kew. Aug. 17th, I and my wife and Katharin our dowghter dyned with the Lord Keper at Kew. Aug. 28th, I was all day with the Lord Keper. Mr. Web and the philosopher cam. Aug. 29th, Mr. Web and the philosopher cam again. Aug. 30th, Mistres Redhed, mother to Mr. John Ponsoys by her first husbond, Mr. Gubbens, bokebynder, and his wife, and the same day Mr. Redhed himself, one of her Majestie's jentlemen hushers, cam to me. Sept. 11th, Jana, post triduunam ægrotationem abortiebatur, mane hora decima. Sept. 13th, the howse surrendered for me by Mr. Mark Perpoint, Mr. William Walker of Wimbledon, Miles Holland, Mr. John Stockden, the thre customarie tenants, with promys to bring in his wife at the next court day to surrender. Sept. 18th, Elizabeth Kyrton had 2*s.* 6*d.* Sept. 20th, Barthilmew Hikman cam to Mortlak, and Robert Charles. I gave Robert Web 5*s.* by Arthur. Sept. 26th, Mr. Herbert went toward the court, and so toward Waty. Sept. 28th, tempestuous, windy, clowdy, hayl and rayn, after three of the clok after none. Remember that the last day of this month Elizabeth Kyrton, who had served me twelve yeres, five yeres uppon prentiship and seven for wagis, five yeres therof for four nobles a yere, and the two last for five nobles the yere, was payd her full payment now remayning due: whereuppon she receyved £4. 4*s.* for her due of wagis remayning; and I gave her moreover an half angel new in gold, and my wife another; Arthur half-a-crown for him and his brother; Katharyn half-a-crown for her and her sister. And so she wente from my servyce uppon no due cause known to me.

Oct. 4th, Sir Edward Keley set at liberty by the Emperor. Oct. 12th, Mr. Cornelio Camaiere cam from the Lord Lasky from Livonia. Oct. 15th, Margerie Thornton cam to my servyce. Oct. 18th, before Mr. Perpoint, Miles Holland, Robert Wellder, William Beck surrendred my cottage agayn unto me, and I payd him £5, the full £12 as it cost him. To Letice two shillings. Oct. 20th, Mr. Cornelio went toward the flete of Stade to returne. Oct. 24th, Ostende besieged by report. Not true. Oct. 25th, Mr. Gray, the Lady Cumberland's preacher, his wrangling and denying and despising alchimicall philosophers. Nov. 5th. Mr. Francys Nicolls, Mr. Prise, Mr. Nores. Nov. 18th, Jane most desperately angry in respect of her maydes. Nov. 20th, Margery went and Dorothe Legg cam for 30*s*. yerely. Margery Thornton was dismissed from my servyce to Mrs. Child, and Dorothe Leg cam by Mrs Mary Revel's sending the same day and howr, hora tertia after none. Nov. 26th, John, sometymes Mr. Colman's servant, cam to me from the Lady Cowntess of Cumberland. Dec. 3rd, the Lord Willowghby his bowntifull promys to me. The Cowntess of Kent, his syster, and the Cowntess of Cumberland visited me in the afternone. The Lord Willowghby dyned with me. Dec. 4th, £20 Lord Willughby. Dec. 5th, the newes of Sir Edward Kelly his libertie. Dec. 11th, I gave Robert 20*s*. at his going to London with my wife. Dec. 22nd, I gave Robert two shillings. Dec. 24th, Mr. Webbes committed to the Marshalsea. Dec. 25th, this night Mr. Webbes got out, and taken this day (the 26th).

1594. Jan. 3rd, the Lord Keper sent my wife 20 angels in a new red velvet purse, cira occasum solis paulo ante. Jan. 4th, D. Michael Peiserus, Doctor Medicus Marchionis Brandeburgensis, me humanissime invisit. Jan. 5th, a very tempestuous wyndy night. Jan. 9th, Robert Thickpeny from Sir Richard Martyn, and Miles Holland, baylif for the Lord of the Manor, sealed up Mr. Webb's chest, and case of boxes. Jan. 19th, the cobler with the mad woman. Jan. 25th, I sent my letters to Mr. Lording for Mr. Pontoys to Dantsiz. Jan. 26th, I cam to Mr. Web to the Marshalsea. Jan. 27th, Thomas Richardson cam while I was at London, and so I fownd him at home; and agayn he promised me his working of forty dayes. Jan. 28th, Mr. Vander Laen promised on 26 day to begyn his work of fixing *lunam*. Madinia somwhat sickly. Robert Wood, visitted with spirituall creatures, had comfort by conference. Jan. 31st, Mr. Vander Laen began his work of *luna*, five myle sowth from Glocester. Mr. Morgan Treherne told me of Mr. Lawrence of eighty yeres old. Mr. Thomas Sharp, chief stuard to the Lady Russell at Bisham, is master and good frende to Thomas Richardson, as he himselfe told me. Theodore Dee from the myddle of this month had his left ey blud-shotten from the side next his temple, very sore bludshotten, above thre wekes contynuing. Feb. 1st, Mr. John Ask sent me two little dubble gilt bowles waying thirteen ownces and a half. Feb. 7th, Sir Thomas Wilks offer philosophicall cam to my hands by Mr. Morice Kiffyn. This day the Archbishop of Canterbury inclined sometyme to the request of dispensation. Feb. 20th, 21st, Theodor fell sick in the Shrovtyde weke, and so into a tertian ague. March 10th, uppon a flight of feare bycause of Mr. Webbes his sending for me to come to him to the Marshalsea, now when he looked to be condemned on the Monday or Tuesday next. March 16th, Barthilmew Hikman cam up. March 18th, Mr. Heriot cam to me. March 20th, I did before Barthilmew Hikman pay Letice her full yere's wagis ending the 7th day of Aprill next; her wagis being four nobles, an apron, a payr of hose and shoes. March 23rd, I gave Barthilmew Hikman the nag which the Lord Keper had given me. Barthilmew Hikman and William his brother went homward. Magus disclosed by frendeship of Mr. Richard Alred. Α συδδεν πανγ οφ ανγερ βετυυενε Μ. Νικολς ανδ με. March 28th, Mr. Francis Garland browght me Sir Edward Kelley and his brother's letters. March 31st, a great fit of the stone in my left kydney: all day I could do but three or four drops of water, but I drunk a draught of white wyne and salet oyle, and after that, crabs' eys in powder with the bone in the carp's head, and abowt four of the clok I did eat tosted cake buttered, and with suger and nutmeg on it, and drunk two great draughts of ale with it; and I voyded within an howr much water,

Strange; [illegible]

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and a stone as big as an Alexander seed. God be thanked! Five shillings to Robert Webb, part of his wagis.

April 1st, Capitayn Hendor made acquayntance with me, and shewed me a part of his pollicy against the Spanishe King his intended mischief agaynst her Majestie and this realme. April 4th, John Stokden cam to study with our children. Mr. Thomas Wye cam with a token from Mistres Ashley. Remove to Mr. Harding and Mr. Abbot at Oxford abowt my Arabik boke. April 5th, my right ey very sore and bludshotten. April 7th, Mr. Nicols cam agayn out of Northampton. Mr. Barret and Mistres Barret cam to visit me. May 3rd, betwene 6 and 7 after none the Quene sent for me to her in the privy garden at Grenwich, when I delivered in writing the hevenly admonition, and Her Majestie tok it thankfully. Onely the Lady Warwyk and Sir Robert Cecill his Lady wer in the garden with Her Majestie. May 18th, Her Majestie sent me agayn the copy of the letter of G. K. with thanks by the Lady Warwick. May 21st, Sir John Wolley moved my sute to Her Majesty. She graunted after a sort, but referred all to the Lord of Canterbury. May 25th, Dr. Awbrey moved my sute to Her Majesty, and answere as before. May 29th, with the Archbishop before the Quene cam to her house. June 3rd, I, my wife, and seven children, before the Quene at Thisellworth. My wife kissed her hand. I exhibited my request for the Archbishop to com to my cottage. June 6th, supped with the Lord Archbishop. Invited him to my cottage. June 11th, given to Robert Webb at London seven shillings in the begynning of this month. June 15th, £40 of Mr. Thomas Harward. I shuld have £60 more. A great fytt of the stone in my kydneys. June 20th, Mistres Magdalen Perpoynt was sole examined of our Stuard at the Temple. June 22nd, morgaged my late purchas to Mr. Richard White for £30, to be received within a few dayes. June 23rd, I discharged Robert Web of my service, and gave him 40 shillings for a full satisfaction of all things. Thomas Richardson cam and offered me his work and labor, and had, as he requested, my letter to Mr.

Thomas Sharpe. June 24th, on Midsommer Day Antony Ryve Taylor cam to my service, for wagis by the yere three pounds and a livery. Barthilmew Hikman cam. June 26th, I discharged Jane Hikman to go with her father Barthilmew home into Northamptonshire, and gave her ten shillings, and promised her at Hallowtyd ten shillings more. Barthilmew Hikman and Goodman Ball with Jane Hikman went homward. June 29th, after I had hard the Archbishop his answers and discourses, and that after he had byn the last Sonday at Tybald's with the Quene and Lord Threasorer, I take myself confounded for all suing or hoping for anything that was. And so adiew to the court and courting tyll God direct me otherwise! The Archbishop gave me a payre of sufferings to drinke. God be my help as he is my refuge! Amen.

July 1st, I gave Robert yet more a French crown for a farwell. July 2nd, given to Richard ten shillings uppon his wagis. July 6th, Michael becam distempered in his hed and bak. July 9th, in the morning began my hed to ake and be hevy more then of late, and had some wambling in my stomach. I had broken my fast with sugar sopps, &c. I gave Letice my servant 5*s*. part of her wagis: with part whereof she was to buy a smok and neckercher. July 13th, in ortu solis Michael Dee did give up the ghost after he sayd, "O Lord, have mercy uppon me!" July 19th, goodman Richardson began his work. Aug. 19th, Elizabeth Felde cam to my servyce: she is to have five nobles the yere and a smok. Aug. 26th, Mr. Gherardt, the chirurgion and herbalist, [cam to me]. Aug. 30th, Monsieur Walter Mallet toke his leave of me to go home to Tholose. He had the fix oyle of saltpetre. Sept. 18th, I sent letters to Sir Ed. K. and T. Kelly, between 10 and 2 after none taken from the dore.

Oct. 3rd, I payd Mrs. Stockden £4 I borrowed of her; I payd her 26*s*. 8*d*. for four loade of wood. I remayn debter for a load of hay, and for 400 of billet in forks. Oct. 4th, payd Mr. Childe £3. 10*s*. for ten lode of lose faggot. Oct. 14th, Mr. Robert Thomas cam to my howse to dwell. Oct. 28th, hora 6½ a meridie, I writ and sent a letter to the Lady Skydmor, in my wife's name, to move her Majestie that eyther I might declare my case to the body of the cownsayle, or else under the great seale to have lycens to go freely anywhither. Oct. 31st, lightening without thunder in the afternone and in the night following.

Nov. 24th, receyved a letter from Sir Edward Kelley by Rowley. Dec. 2nd, Francys Garland cam to England from Prage. Just five yeres past I cam to England from Breame as Francis Garland cam now: but the Stade flete stayed at Harwich. The 2nd of our cold December, Barthilmew was preferred by me to the Lord Willoughby his servyce at Barbican, in the presence of the Cowntess of Kent: and the Lord Willoughby did presently write his warrant to Mr. Jonson in Fletestreet, taylor, to deliver to Barthilmew his cloth and couishins, and so it was to Barthilmew delivered immediately. Dec. 7th, Jane my wife delivered her supplication to the Quene's Majestie, as she passed out of the privy garden at Somerset Howse to go to diner to the Savoy to Syr Thomas Henedge. The Lord Admirall toke it of the Quene. Her Majestie toke the bill agayn and kept [it] uppon her cushen; and on the 8th day, by the chief motion of the Lord Admirall, and somwhat of the Lord Buckhurst, the Quene's wish was to the Lord Archbishop presently that I shuld have Dr. Day his place in Powles. Dec. 22nd, payd seven shillings to Elizabeth Felde, part of her wagis. Given to Lettyce 5*s*., part of her wagis. Payd to Richard 8*s*., part of his wagis; and all other reckenings payd.

1595. Jan. 3rd, the Wardenship of Manchester spoken of by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. Feb. 5th, my bill of Manchester offered to the Quene afore dynner by Sir John Wolly to signe, but she deferred it. Feb. 10th, at two after none I toke a cutpurse taking my purse out of my pocket ~~in the T~~emple. Feb. 18th, Mr. ~~Laward his sonne~~ Thomas born at noone or a little after, ¼ vel ½. Consultatio et deliberatio prima cum Marmione Haselwood in fine istius mensis. March 18th, Mr. Francis Garland cam this morning to viset me, and had much talk with me of Sir E. K. March 20th, Mr. Marmion Haselwood, Mr. Dymmock, and Mr. Hipwell, cam to me to Mortlak. March 21st, Barthilmew Hikman cam to Mortlak. March 26th, Barthilmew homeward. March 29th, Mr. Laward and Mr. Alred cam to me.

April 18th, my bill for Manchester Wardenship signed by the Quene, Mr. Herbert offring it her. May 4th, payd Richard 20*s.* part of his wagis, and more I gave him 10*s.* for full payment of all od reckenings of late. May 5th, Mr. Cave dyed. May 8th, the Master of the Rolls his curtesy, thowgh I had never spoken unto him. May 9th, my coosen John Awbry cam to me, to recreate himselfe for a while. May 21st, I discharged Letice of my servyce, and payd all duetyes untyll this day, her yere ending on the 8th of Aprill. I gave her for a month over 2*s.* 6*d.* and for to spend by the way I gave her 2*s.* 6*d.*, Robert Charles and my wife being by in my study. May 25th, 26th, 27th, the Signet, the Privy Seale, and the Great Seale of the Wardenship; £3. 12*s.* borrowed of my brother Arnold. June 1st, my yong coosen, John Awbrey, was sent for to his father to London. Mr. Partrich, his brother, in London; Richard Ward, and other cam for him. June 9th, Barthilmew Hikman went homeward. June 11th, I wrote to the Erle of Derby, his secretary, abowt Manchester. June 18th, Anne Powell cam to my service; she is to have four nobles by the yere, a payr of hose and shoes. June 21st, the Erle of Derby his letter to Mr. Warren for the colledge. June 25th, Dr. Awbrey died at midnight. My cosen, Mr. George Broke, gave me £50 in gold, hora tertia a meridie. June 29th, Mr. John Blayney, of Over Kingesham in Radnorshyre, and Mr. Richard Baldwyn, of Duddlebury in Shropshyre, visited me at Mortlak. The great-grandfather of the sayd John, and my great-grandmother by the father side, were brother and sister.

July 1st, the two brethren, Master Willemots, of Oxfordshire, cam to talk of my howse hyring. Master Baynton cam with Mistres Katharyn Hazelwood, wife to Mr. Fuller. July 7th, Mr. Morgan Jones, my cosen, cam to me at Mistres Walls twise, July 12th, Mr. Goodier, of Manchester, cam to me. Dies natalis. July 15th, I gave Mr. Morgan Traharn his bill to Mr. Harbert. July 25th, Mrs. Mary Nevell cam. July 28th, a letter from Mr. Oliver Carter, Fellow of Manchester College. I writt agayn to him the same day. July 29th, Mistres Mary Nevel went to London, and so into Kent. July 31st, the Cowntess of Warwik did this evening thank her Majestie in my name, and for me, for her gift of the Wardenship of Manchester. She toke it gratiously; and was sorry that it was so far from hens, but that some better thing neer hand shall be fownd for me; and, if opportunitie of tyme wold serve, her Majestie wold speak with me herself. I had a bill made by Mr. Wood, one of the clerks of the signet, for the first frutes given me by her Majestie. Aug. 2nd, at Mr. Cosener his table at Grenewich: I spak that wich greatly liked Mr. Sergeant Oliver Lloyd; wold have disputed agayn. Aug. 5th, very rayny all day, and had the wynde north E. and W. Aug. 12th, I receyved Sir Edward Kellyes letters of the Emperor's, inviting me to his servyce again. Aug. 14th, peperit Jana (nutu Dei) circa horam quartam a meridie. Aug. 27th, Margarite Dee baptized hora 4½ a meridie. Godfather, the Lord Keper; his deputy, Mr. Crowne. Godmothers, the Cowntess of Cumberland, her deputy Mistres Davis; and the Cowntess of Essex, her deputy Mistres Bele. Barthilmew Hikman cam to Mortlak on his own busines. Sept. 2nd, the spider at ten of the clok at night suddenly on my desk, and suddenly gon; a most rare one in bygnes and length of feet. I was in a great study at my desk. Sept. 6th I gave Richard 2*s.* 6*d.* part of his wagis, when he went to his grandfather. Sept. 13th, I dyned with the Erle of Derby at Russell Howse, Mr. Thymothew and Mr. John Statfeldt, German, being there. Sept. 14th, to Elizabeth Feeld 2*s.* for the taylor. Sept. 22nd, Elizabeth Feeld went from my servyce. I dined with the Erle of Darby. Sept. 26th, £6 borrowed of my cosen William Hetherley for fourteen days to pay for Barthilmew Hikman. Sept. 29th, Margery Stubble of Hownslow, our dry nurse, entred into the yere of her servyce begynning on Michaelmas Day, and is to have £3 her yeres wagis and a gown cloth of russet. Edward Edwards began his yere of serving me allso on Michelmas Day, and he must have 40*s.* for his yere's wagis, and a lyvery.

Oct. 7th, my anger (hor. 5 a mer.) with Edward my coke, bycause of his disorder. Oct. 8th, Mr. Richard Western lent me £10 for a yere. Oct. 9th, I dyned with Syr Walter Rawlegh at Durham Howse. Oct. 11th, to Edward 2*s.*, part of wagis. Mr. Banks lent me uppon lone tyll after Christmas £5. Mr Emery sent me £3 by my servant Richard Walkedine. Oct. 14th, to Anne 2*s.* part of wagis; to Elizabeth Felde payd the rest of her yeres wagis, and moreover 2*s.* 6*d.* given for the overplus tyme. Oct. 19th, the old reckoning betwene me and Edmond Hilton made clere. Of his eleven pownds demanded, I shewd him of my old note that he had receyved £6. 15*s.*, and after that Sted his 25*s.*, and Mr. Emery his £3 lent him; as I did shew him Sted his letter, and Mr. Emery his letter of the last month. All these sommes make just an eleven pownd. Payd to nurse Stubble, in part of payment of her wagis, 5*s.* Oct. 20th, to Anne 12*d.* Richard rode toward Oxford for my Arabik boke. Oct. 25th, Sted was a suter to me for help in law against his father. Nov. 8th, my goods sent me by Peravall toward Manchester. Nov. 19th, my Arabik boke restored by God's favor. Nov. 21st, goodwife Lidgatt payd her rent two quarters ending at the feast of the Annunciation of our Lady next, 13*s.* 4*d.* Goodman Agar was by in my hall at Mortlak. Nov. 25th, the newes that Sir Edward Kelley was slayne. Nov. 26th, Mr. Nicolas Bagwell of Manchester browght me a letter from my brother Arnold. Lent to Mister Laurence Dutton twelve shillings. My wife and children all by water toward Coventry. Dec. 10th, Mr. Lok his Arabik bokes and letter to me by Mr. Berran his sonne. Dec. 23rd, I payd to John Norton, stationer, ten powndes in hand, and was bownd in a recognisance before Doctor Hone for the payment of the rest, £10 yerely, at Christmas and Midsommer £5, tyll £53 more

14*s*. 8*d*. were payd. Receyved £30 in part of payment of one hundred for my howse at Manchester of Mr. Paget. Dec. 26th, nata filia Comitis Derby mane circa quartam horam Londini.

1596. Feb. 15th, I cam to Manchester a meridie hora quinta. Feb. 20th, enstalled in Manchester wardenship inter nonam et undecimam horam ante meridiem. March 14th, warning given publikely against Thomas Goodyer. March 21st, warning given publikly of licence given to Thomas Goodyer.

April 2nd, Sir John Byron, knight, and Mr. John Byron, esquier, dyned with me in the colledg. I moved the matter of Xyd an aker of hay grownd of his tenants. He promised well. April 6th, I went to Mr. Ashton of Lester and to Mr. Sherington. April 8th, Margaret Dee begonne to be weaned. May 7th, possession taking in Salford. May 11th, my brother Aubrey and Richard toward London. June 3rd, I gave Antony Cowly 20*s*. and discharged him. June 4th, Antony Cowley went yerely from my howse, I know not whither. June 14th, Mr. Harry Savill, the antiquary, cam to me. June 15th, I wrote by Mr. Harry Savill of the book dwelling' at Hallyfax to Christopher Saxton at Denningley. I sent my letter to Sir Robert Cecill's howse by William Debdell. June 18th, the commission for the colledge sent to London to be engrossed in the Duchy office. I sent by Nicholas Baguely of Newton to Mr. Brogreton and to William Nicolson to follow it this terme. June 21st, Mr. Christopher Saxton cam to me. June 22nd, entred upon great Brereridings in Salford. June 24th, Barthilmew cam. June 25th, order taken by the sherif betwene me and Raf Holden. June 26th, the Erle of Derby with the Lady Gerard, Sir . . . . Molyneux and his Lady, dawghter to the Lady Gerard, Master Hawghton and others, cam suddenly uppon [me] after three of the clok. I made them a skoler's collation, and it was taken in good part. I browght his honor and the ladyes to Ardwyk Grene toward Lyme, at Mr. Legh his howse, twelve myles of. June 29th, wyndy and rayny.

July 5th, Mr. Savill and Mr. Saxton cam. July 6th, I, Mr. Saxton and Arthur Rouland, John and Richard, to Howgh Hall. July 9th, I sent Roger Kay of Manchester with my letters into Wales. July 10th, Manchester town described and measured by Mr. Christopher Saxton. Given to nurse Stubley 10*s*., part of wagis. July 10th to 14th, occupyed with low controversies, as with Holden of Salford and the tenants of Sir John Byron of Faylsworth in the right of the colledge, sending to . . . . . to the cownty, and sending for Mr. Tyldesley or Chester for cownsaylers. July 12th, given more to nurse, when her sonne John Stubley went from me toward London to be reconcyled to his master. I gave him 5*s*. The yong man, Leon the hatter, went with him. July 14th, Mr. Saxton rode away. The sessions day at Manchester. July 19th, Ales cam by Mrs. Beston's help to my servyce. Thomas, my coke, went from me. July 21st, Isabell Bardman from the chamber to the kitchin. July 25th, thunder in the morning; rayne in the night. July 27th, the Erle of Darby went by London ward; dyned at Curtes' howse. Aug. 10th, Mr. Thomas Jones of Tregarron cam to me to Manchester and rode toward Wales bak agayn the 13th day to mete the catall coming. Aug. 13th, I rid toward York. Halifax and Mr. Thomas Jones rode toward Wales. Aug. 20th, I cam to Manchester from York. Aug. 20th to 27th, much disquietnes and controversy abowt the tythe corne of Hulme. Aug. 30th, Cromsall corne-tyth obteyned by consent, but afterwards dowted and half denyed; then utterly denyed. Sept. 1st, Mary Goodwyn cam to my servyce to govern and teach Madinia and Margaret, my yong dowghters. Sept. 3rd, being Fryday, I rode to Syr John Byron's, to Royton, to talk with him abowt the controversy betwene the colledg and his tenants. He pretented that we have part of Faylesworth Common within our Newton Heath, which cannot be proved I am sure. We wer agreed that James Traves (being his bayly) and Francis Nutthall, his servant for him, shold with me understand all circumstances, and so duely to procede. Sept. 5th, seventeen hed of cattell from my kinsfolk in Wales by the curteous Griffith David, nephew to Mr. Thomas Griffith, browght.

Oct. 26th, Mr. Francis Nicols and Barthilmew cam to Manchester. Oct. 29th, they rode homeward. Nov. 22nd, £4. 6*s.* given to my wife by Mr. Francys Wodcote. Dec. 3rd, Mr. Palmer cam to be curate.

1597. Jan. 19th, I sent £4 to Barthilmew Hikman by Bradshaw the carryer. Jan. 22nd, Olyver Carter's thret to sue me with proces from London was this Satterday in the church declared to the clerk. Feb. 5th, Rich. Key of Weram cwrate cam to me by Mr. Heton's information, and I to try him three monthes for 50*s.* wagis. Feb. 7th, John Morryce came to Manchester. Feb. 11th, £5 borowed of Mr. Mat. Heton. Feb. 14th, this Monday John Morrise went with my letters to Mr. John Gwyn, and twelve more in Montgomeryshyre, esquyers. Feb. 17th, delivered to Charles Legh the elder my silver tankard with the cover, all dubble gilt, of the Cowntess of Herford's gift to Francis her goddoughter, waying 22 oz. great waight, to lay in pawn in his owne name to Robert Welsham the goldsmith for £4 tyll within two dayes after May-day next. My dowghter Katharin and John Crocker and I myself (John Dee) were at the delivery of it and waying of it in my chamber: it was wrapped in a new handkercher cloth. Feb. 25th, Mr. Heton borrowed the Concordantiæ Majores Roberti Stephani. He hath allso my boke *De Cœna* of Doctor Pezelia. March 7th, Mr. Heton lent me £5 more, and thereuppon I gave him a bill of my hand for the whole ten pownd, to be payd at Michelmas next. The other £5 was receyved the 11th of February last. March 17th, Barthilmew Hikman cam. March 19th, I lent Mr. Hopwood *Wierus de præstigiis Dæmonum.*

April 10th, a supplication exhibited by the parishioners. April 11th, 12th, trubblesom days abowt Mr. Palmer the curate. April 15th, I had my *Wierus de præstigiis Dæmonum* from Mr. Hopwood, and lent him *Flagellum Dæmonum* and *Fustio Dæmonum* in 8vo, for tyme till Midsomer. April 21st, I sent Barthilmew Hikman 40*s.* I sent by Bradshaw many letters to London. I sent by goodman Thurp of Salford my great letter to the byshop of Lincolne, and one to Mr. Shallcross. April 22nd, after none Sir Urien Legh knight, and his brother, and Mr. Brown, and Mr. George Booth, sherif of Chesshire, did viset me. Mr. Booth sayd that he wold yeld that to me that he wold not yeld to the bisshop nor any other. Mr. Wortley of Wortley cam allso the same day hora quarta a meridie. May 2nd, Mr. Hulme and Mr. Williamson cam to me in the Lord Bishop of Lincoln's case for Hulme. May 4th, I, with Sir Robert Barber, curat, and Robert Talsley, clerk of Manchester parish church, with diverse of the town of divers ages, went in perambulation to the bownds of Manchester parish: began at the Leeless Bench against Prestwich parish, and so had a vew of the thre corne staks, and then down tyll Mr. Standysh new enclosure on the Low, wher we stayed and vewed the stak yet standing in the bank of the dich, being from the corne a eleven measures of Mr. Standley's stak then in his hand, and two fote more, which still I did measure afterward, and it did conteyn in Kentish feete 6 ynches and thre quarters. The survey geometricall of the very circuits of Manchester parish was ended in this, being the sixth day of my work. May 11th, the way to Stopford surveyed by John Cholmeley and John Crocker. May 17th, to Richard Walkeden 20*s.* of his wagis payd. May 20th, the Lady Booth made acquayntance here May 23rd, to Isabell Boordman 8*s.* 8*d.* to make up whole yere's wagis due at the Annunciation of our Lady last past. I allowed to Mr. Williamson ten dayes respite more for his kinsman to bring in his evidence for the process of the proceedings. Payd to nurse 3*s.* to make up her full payment of her yere's wagis ended at Michaelmas last. May 27th, open enmitie with Palmer before Sir Edward Fitton. Sir Edward Fitton told Matthew Palmer to his face that he had known him to be a mutinous man and a . . . . . . June 9th, Thomas Sankinson told me of John Basset his coming to London. June 14th, the un-lawfull assembly and rowte of William Cutcheth, Captayn Bradley, John Taylor, Rafe Taylor, at Newton, against my men, describing the rumour of Newton. June 27th, newes from Hull of 23 barrells of Dansk rye sent me from John Pontoys.

July 1st, I sent Roger Kay to Vanydles for catall. July 4th, the carriers to Wakefeld for the corn. July 5th, toward evening lightning and little thunder. July 6th, thunder in the morning. July 7th, five horse lode of Dansk ry cam home. July 19th, the strang pang of my back opening mane hora 6¼. In the church uppon Mr. Palmer's disorder against Mr. Lawrence. July 20th, the last of my Dansk rye, in all 21 horse load. Aug. 6th, this night I had the vision and shew of many bokes in my dreame, and among the rest was one great volume thik in large quarto, new printed, on the first page whereof as a title in great letters was printed "Notus in Judæa Deus." Many other bokes methowght I saw new printed, of very strange arguments. I lent Mr. Edward Hopwood of Hopwood my *Malleus Maleficarum* to use tyll new yere's tyde next, a short thik old boke with two clasps, printed anno 1517. Aug. 19th, the Erle and Cowntess of Derby cam to Alport lodg. Aug. 21st, the Erle and Cowntess of Derby had a banket at my lodging at the colledge hora 4½. Aug. 27th, John Addenstall from Mr. Emery. I wrote. Sept. 3rd, Mr. Werall of Lobester within two miles of Donkaster cam to me to be acquaynted with me. Sept. 9th, very wyndy at Sowth and rayny. Sept. 12th, hayle this morning on Monday. Sept. 15th, lent by Mr. Werall 40*s*. John Cholmley went with him to give him and other physik; and I answered John Cholmeley the 40*s*. again. Sept 24th, Barthilmew cam. Sept. 25th, Mr. Olyver Carter his impudent and evident disolutenes in the church. Sept. 26th, he repented and some pacification was made. Sept. 27th, I granted a lease of thre lives to Mr. Ratclyf for two howses in Dene Square of 7*s*. rent both; fine, twenty nobles. Sept. 28th, cam Mr. Yardely of Calcot in Chesshyre, abowt six myles wide of Chester, toward the Holt. Nova de philosopho D. Waldero.

Sept. 30th, John Crockar (my good servant) had leave to go to see his parents. He went with Barthilmew Hikman and Robert Charles toward Branbroke, with Arthur Golding, to cure of his fistula. John Crocker intendeth to returne abowt Easter or at Whitsuntyde next. God be his spede! Mr. Humphry Damport made our stuard.

Oct. 12th, Rafe Holden preferred a bill against Richard Walkeson for Brereriding's chase entyring, which I and Antony Ryve ..... fals. The bill was not fownd. Oct. 22nd, John Fletcher of Manchester went with my letters to Vanylos this Sunday morning. Nov. 3rd, Mr. John Cholmeley toward London by Market-Harborow. Nov. 7th, the fellows and the receyver agreed not with me in accounts. Paulo post nonam mane Arthur's left eye hurt at playing at fence with rapier and dagger of sticks, by a foyne of Edmond Arnold. Nov. 10th, Mr. Burch his letter from Mathew Palmer. Nov. 14th, the fellows wold not graunt me the £5. for my howse-rent, as the Archbishops had graunted: and our foundation commaundeth an howse. Nov. 17th, I sent Ed. Arnold to London on fote with my letters to D. Julio. Dec. 3rd, to Richard Walkeden 10*s*. in part of wagis. To nurse 10*s*. Dec. 9th, I visited the grammar schole. Dec. 13th, I wrote by the carryer Barret to D. Cæsar. Dec. 14th, Mr. George Broke, sonne to Mr. .... Broke of ...., cam to be acquaynted with me, whome I used most frendely. Mr. Ratclif of Manchester cam with him, but Mr. Heton allso cam on Tuesday after none when I had no leyser. Dec. 17, I lent to Mr. Barlow for his sonne a Spanish grammer in 8vo. printed at Lovayn in anno 1555 by Bartholomæus Gravay in Spanish, French, and Latin. To R. Dickonson I payd £7. 2*s*. for the plate and a new bell made till 1599, January 1st, £66.

1598. Jan. 4th, I wrote to Barthilmew and Charles by Bradshaw. Jan. 17th, my brother Arnold to Chester and Vaunlos. Jan. 18th, Ed. Arnold with my letter to London. Jan. 19th, hora secunda a meridie I cam before the justices against James

Shallcross and John Lawrence for misusing my name to deceyve Mr. Harrughby. Jan. 20th, Walter Fletcher, chirurgien, from Barthilmew Hikman cam. Jan. 22nd, after midnight the college gate toward Hunt's Hall did fall, and som parte of the wall going down the lane. I receyved letters from Mr. John Pontoys. Jan. 24th, Walter Fletcher went with my letters to Barthilmew Hikman and Robert Charles. Amaritudo mea circa mediam noctem. Jan. 28th, the cloose was hyerd of Ed. Brydock for thre pownd payd beforehand by me John Dee to the said Ed. Brydock, being £4 from Candlemas next tyll Candlemas come a twelvemonth. Feb. 9th, George Birch sute was stayd at Chester uppon his promise to compownd with me for all tyth, haye, and other matter. Thomas Goodyer his sute and excommunication I stayed, salvo interim jure suo. Baxter's likewise I stayd at Chester court. Feb. 12th, newes from Mr. Smyth, of Upton personage, cam this Sunday. Feb. 13th, Edmond Arnold to London; thereuppon I sent spedily. Feb. 20th, I wrote by Oliver Ellet, the taylor, to Mr. Nicolls to Faxton. Feb. 22nd, Mr. Nicolls cam and wished to mete Ellet. Feb. 25th, the eclips. A clowdy day, but great darknes abowt 9½ mane. Feb. 26th, circa mediam noctem amaritudo mea. Feb. 27th, Mr. Nicolls rode homeward, and met the messager a little beyond Stopford. I lent Mr. Nicolls home with him Roger Edward's boke to be browght to me by Barthilmew Hikman. March 1st, I receyved Mr. Thynne his letter for Sted's det, and Ed. Arnold his letter of the sute from Upton, and of the Lord Archebisshop his hard dealing. March 2nd, I sent the statute staple to London to Mr. George Brok for Sted. I wrote letters by John Hardy, and sent them in a box. March 5th, newes of Mistres Mary Nevell's death by William Nicholson, that she dyed the Fryday after Candelmas Day. March 11th, borrowed 40*s*. of Mr. George Kenion, of Kersall, to repay againe as sone as I can conveniently. Receyved by Richard Walkeden.

1600. June 10th, set out from London. Jun. 18th, I, my wife, Arthur Rowland, Mistres Marie Nicols, and Mr. Richard Arnold cam to Manchester.

July 3rd, the Commission set uppon in the Chapter Howse. July 7th, this morning, as I lay in my bed, it cam into my fantasy to write a boke, "De differentiis quibusdam corporum et spirituum." July 8th, I writ to the Lord Bishop of Chester by Mr. Withenstalls. July 10th, Mr. Nicols and Barthilmew Hickman cam. July 14th, Francys Nicols and Barthilmew Hikman went homeward. July 17th, I willed the fellows to com to me by nine the next day. July 18th, it is to be noted of the great pacifications unexpected of man which happened this Friday; for in the forenone (betwene nine and ten) where the fellows were greatly in doubt of my heavy displeasure, by reason of their manifold misusing of themselves against me, I did with all lenity interteyn them, and shewed the most part of the things that I had browght to pass at London for the college good, and told Mr. Carter (going away) that I must speak with him alone. Robert Leigh and Charles Legh were by. Secondly, the great sute betwene Redishmer and me was stayed and by Mr. Richard Holland his wisdom. Thirdly, the organs uppon condition was admitted. And fourthly, Mr. Williamson's resignation granted for a preacher to be gotten from Cambridge. ~~July 19th, I lent~~ Randall Kemp my second part of Hollinshed's Great Chronicle for ij. or iij. wekes. To Newton ~~he restored it. July~~ 31st, we held our audit, I and the fellows for the two yeres last past in my absence, Olyver Carter, Thomas Williamson, and Robert Birch, Charles Legh the elder being receyver. I red and gave unto Mistres Mary Nicolls her prayer.

Aug. 5th, I visited the grammar schole, and fownd great imperfection in all and every of the scholers to my great grief. Aug. 6th, I had a dream after midnight ~~of my working of~~ the philosopher's stone with other. My dreame was after midnight toward day. Aug. 10th, Eucharistam suscepimus, ego, uxor, filia Katharina, et Maria Nicolls. Aug. 30th, a great tempest of mighty wynde S.W. from 2 tyll 6, with rayne.

Sept. 11th, Mr. Holland of Denby, Mr. Gerard of Stopford, Mr. Langley, commissioners from the bishop of Chester, authorized by the bishop of Chester, did call me before them in the church abowt thre of the clok after none, and did deliver to me certayn petitions put up by the fellows against me to answer before the 18th of this month. I answered them all eodem tempore, and yet they gave me leave to write at leiser. Sept. 16th, Mr. Harmer and Mr. Davis, gentlemen of Flyntshire, within four or five myle of Hurden Castell, did viset me. Sept. 29th, I burned before Mr. Nicols, his brother, and Mr. Wortley, all Bartholomew Hikman his untrue actions.* Sept. 30th, after the departing of Mr. Francis Nicolls, his dowghter Mistres Mary, his brother Mr. William, Mr. Wortley, at my returne from Deansgate, to the ende whereof I browght them on fote, Mr. Roger Kooke offred and promised his faithfull and diligent care and help, to the best of his skill and powre, in the processes chymicall, and that he will rather do so then to be with any in England; which his promise the Lord blesse and confirm! He told me that Mr. Anthony considered him very liberally and frendely, but he told him that he had promised me. Then he liked in him the fidelity of regarding such his promise.

Oct. 13th, be it remembered that Sir Georg Both cam to Manchester to viset Mr. Humfrey Damport, cownsaylor of Gray's Inne, and so cam to the colledg to me; and after a few words of discowrse, we agreed as concerning two or three tenements in Durham Massy in his occupying. That he and I with the fellows wold stand to the arbitrement of the sayd Mr. Damport, after his next return hither from London. John Radclyf, Mr. Damport's man, was with him here, and Mr. Dumbell, but they hard not our agrement; we were in my dyning-room. Oct. 22nd, receyved a kinde letter from the Lord Bishop of Chester in the behalfe of Thomas Billings for a curatship. Nov. 1st, Mr. Roger Coke did begyn to destill. Nov. 4th, the commission and jury did finde the titles of Nuthurst due to Manchester against Mr. James Ashton of Chaterdon. Nov. 7th, Oliver Carter his . . . . . . before Mr. Birch, Richard Legh and Charles Legh, in the colledg howse. Dec. 2nd, colledg awdit. Allowed my due of £7 yerely for my howse-rent tyll Michelmas last. Arthur Dee a graunt of the chapter clerkship from Owen Hodges, to be had yf £6 wer payd to him for his patent. Dec. 20th, borowed of Mr. Edmund Chetam the scholemaster £10 for one yere uppon plate, two bowles, two cupps with handles, all silver, waying all 32 oz. Item, two potts with cover and handells, double gilt within and without, waying 16 oz.

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* In a note by Dee in MS. Ashm. 488, he says, "All Barthilmew's reports of sight and hering spirituall wer burnt; a copy of the first part, which was afterward fownd, was burnt before me and my wife."

1601. Jan. 19th, borrowed of Adam Holland of Newton £5 till Hilary day, uppon a silver salt dubble gilt with a cover, waying 14 oz. Feb. 2nd, Roger Cook his supposed plat laying to my discredit was by Arthur my sone fownd by chaunce in a box of his papers in his own handwriting circa meridiem, and after none abowt 1½ browght to my knowledg face to face. O Deus, libera nos a malo! All was mistaken, and we reconcyled godly. Feb. 10th to 15th, reconciliation betwene us, and I did declare to my wife, Katharine my dowghter, Arthur and Rowland, how things wer thus taken. Feb. 18th, Jane cam to my servyce from Cletheraw. Feb. 25th, R. K[oke] pactum sacrum hora octava mane. March 2nd, Mr. Roger Coke went toward London. March 19th, I receyved the long letters from Bartholomew Hickman hora secunda a meridie by a carryer of Oldham. April 6th, Mr. Holcroft of Vale Royall his first acquaintance at Manchester by reason of William Herbert his frend. He used me and reported of me very freely and wurshiply.

CATALOGUS

LIBRORUM BIBLIOTHECÆ EXTERNÆ

MORTLACENSIS

D. JOH. DEE, A° 1583, 6 SEPT.

LIBRI MANUSCRIPTI.

[*From MS. Trin. Coll. Cantab. O. iv.* 20, *transcribed by Ashmole in MS. Ashm.* 1142. *Another autograph copy is preserved in MS. Harl.* 1879, *which scarcely differs from that in the library of Trinity College. The numbers prefixed to the several volumes are added, for the sake of reference, by the Editor.*]

1. Milei sphæricorum tractatus tres. 4° pergameno.

2. Theoricæ planetarum.—Jordani de triangulis, ubi de quadratura circuli.—Ejusdem de perspectiva.—Ejusdem de speculis, crepusculis, ponderibus, speculis comburentibus, lib. ii. 4°, scripti pergameno.

3. Compendium de vitis philosophorum anonymi.—Ursonis de commixtionibus elementorum.—Ejusdem aphorismi. 4° pergameno.

4. Avicenna de anima mundi, cum aliis, videlicet, Liber cujus initium est, " Inspector præcedentis libri Avicennæ."—Expositorius Rogeri Bachonis."—Liber de ponderibus.—Morienus ad regem Calid.—Rasis libri quinque de deceno (?)—Hermetis

libri septem. — Rosinus ad Euthesiam.—Dicta sapientis. — Turba philosophorum. — Distinctionum sapientium liber. — Epistola Alexandri regis Persarum.—Aristoteles de 30 verbis. —Socratis liber.—Effrey Effinensis liber.—Liber Calid.—Liber commentatus.—Opus philosophorum.— Geber de perfecto magisterio. 4° pergameno.

5. Joh. Duns Scoti quæstiones in Porphyrii quinque voces. — Antonii cujusdam expositio in categorias sex, &c.—Rogerii Bachonis de multiplicatione specierum. — Ejusdem perspectiva. 4° pergameno.
6. Thomæ Aquinatis quæstionum disputatarum volumen. 4° pergameno.
7. Scintillarium poetarum.— Summa chiromantiæ.—Ovidii metamorphoseos expositio.—Tractatus de veneno.—Valerius ad Ruffinum de non ducenda uxore, cum expositione. —Joh. Wyclyf determinatio.—Literæ fratris Wilhelmi Fleth.—Fulgentii mythologiæ cum Expositione.—Tractatus de difficilibus dictionibus Bibliæ. — Rob. Lincolniensis in oculo morali.— Rob. Lincolniensis de ratione veneni.—Joh. Walensis breviloquium philosophorum, descriptum per Stoctonem Cantabrigiæ, 1375.—Casus abstracti in jure, per Fratrem Hermannum de provincia Saxoniæ.—Casus episcopo reservati.—Expositio salutationis angelicæ.* 4° pergameno.
8. De ponderibus et mensuris medicinalis operationis.—Viaticus Constantini Africani libri 7.—De modo medendi experimenta. —De origine morborum, et eorum cognitione per urinam.— De electuariis, &c. 4° pergameno.
9. Ethici Histri cosmographia, ex versione Latina D. Hieronymi.† 4° pergameno.

One I had with me, and one I left here, which is noted after.

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* Now in Trinity College, Dublin. Bern. 148, (H. 12.)

† Now MS. Cotton. Vespas. B. x. thus inscribed by Dr. Dee's hand, "Johannes Dee, 1565, Februarii 21, Wigorniæ, ex dono decani ecclesiæ, Magistri Beddar."

10. Anticlaudianus, carmine.—Hugonis de Pushac, Dunelmensis Episcopi, Brutus, carmine.* Longiuscula forma, pergameno.
11. Tractatus compendiosus de animalibus. 4° pergameno.
12. Wilhelmi Parisiensis fragment. de universis. 4° pergameno.
13. Euclidis Elementa Geometrica, Optica et Catoptrica, ex Arabico translata per Adellardum.—Theodosii Sphæricorum libri.—Liber de occultis.—Ptolomæi planisphærium.—Jordani planisphærium.—Archimedis tractatus de quadratura circuli.—Gerardi de Brussel liber de motu.—Jordanus de ponderibus.—Libri quatuor geometriæ practicæ.—Alfarabius de scientiis.—Wilhelmi de Conchis philosophia.—Rasis liber de phisiognomia.—Anatomia hominis.—De proprietatibus elementorum.—cum aliis. 4° pergameno.
14. Augustinus de anima et spiritu.—Theoremata de spiritu et anima demonstrata.—Algorithmus demonstratus Joh. de Sacrobosco.—Joh. de Rupella summa de anima.—Rob. Lincolniensis tractatus de sphæra.—Joh. de Sacrobosco tractatus de sphæra.—Tractatus de proportione et proportionalitate, &c. Rogeri Bachonis—cum aliis. pergameno, 4°.
15. Maximi Monachi, Dionisii Areopagitæ, Sophronii Solitarii, et aliorum Græcorum fragmenta nonnulla. pergameno, 4°.
16. Ramundi Lullii liber de quinta essentia. papyro, f°.

    Non est Ramundi Lullii, sed collectanea diversa ex Paracelso.
17. Rogerii Bachonis de anima, et ejus operibus.—Ejusdem liber de intellectu et intelligibili. f°. pergameno.
18. Apologia de versutiis atque perversitatibus pseudo-theologorum et religiosorum.—Joachim Abbatis prophetia contra religiones tenentes ordinem mendicantium.—Arnoldi de Villa Nova opus de generibus abusionum veritatis, et de pseudoministris Antichristi cognoscendis, et de pastorali officio circa gregem exercendo.—Ejusdem prophetia catholica, tradens

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* This MS. is now in the Cottonian library, Vespas. A. x. "Joannes Dee, 1574, Maij 7, bowght uppon a stall in London."

artem annihilandi versutias Antichristi et omnium membrorum ejus, ad sacrum collegium Romanorum. pergameno, f°.

19. Rogeri Bachonis de retardatione senectutis et senii, &c.—Ejusdem de graduatione medicinarum compositarum, &c. pergameno, f°.

20. Ejusdem Bachonis metaphisica.—Ejusdem œconomica. pergameno, 4°.

21. Ejusdem* de animalibus fragmentum. pergameno, f°.

22. Ejusdem Bachonis fragmenta quædam; videlicet, de multiplicatione et corruptione specierum.—Item communia naturalia.—Epistola ad Clementem per R. de utilitate scientiarum artis experimentalis, &c. pergameno, f°.

23. Rogeri Bachonis pars sexta Operis Majoris, quæ est Scientia Experimentalis, ad Clementem Pontif: Romanorum.—Ejusdem Operis Majoris pars septima, quæ est, Philosophia Moralis.—Ejusdem Alchimiæ tractatus expositorius, ad Clementem P. M. R.—Ejusdem compendium alchimiæ.—Avicennæ clavis sapientiæ, seu porta minor, seu tractatus de anima.—Breviloquium Holcot.—Rogerii Bachonis speculum alchimiæ.—Quæstiones super librum Jordani de ponderibus.—Compendium artis, Raymundi Lullii.—Excerpta ex theorica Ramundi Lullii.—Rogeri Bachonis tractatus de speciebus. papyro, f°.

24. Alberti Magni de mineralibus libri quinque.—Hermetis quadripartitum operis.—Rhithmomachia.—De lapide bezaar.—Ars fusoria ac tinctoria lapidum ac gemmarum.—Ptolomei liber de lapidibus et sigillis eorundem.—Techel de sculpturis lapidum.—Galenus (. . . . portis) de spermate.—Avicennæ phisiognomia.—Commentariolus in Aristotelis phisiognomiam.—Cheiromantiæ fragmentum.—Arithmeticæ fragmentum, carmine.—Practica algorismi.—Anima artis transmutatoriæ Ramundi.—Phisica, seu medicina Ramundi Lullij.—De herbis.—De potentiis duodecim signorum et septem planetarum.—Epis-

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* Dee has added in the margin the word "dubito," meaning, I suppose, that there was not any sufficient evidence for attributing this treatise to Roger Bacon.

tola accurtationis lapidis philosophorum ad Regem Robertum. —Summa cheiromantiæ.—Albertus Magnus de mineralibus.—Phisiognomia ex Loxio, Aristotele, et Palemone.—Albertus de plantationibus arborum et de conservatione vini.—Virtutes septem herbarum Aristotelis. — Liber Kirimandarum. — Philonis fragmentum de aquæductibus. — Quæstiones quædam naturales.—Constantinus Medicus de coitu.—Practica puerorum.—De natura puerorum. — Introductiones astronomicæ. — Hyppocrates de pharmacis.—Hyppocrates de secretis. — Hippocratis lex. — Hippocrates de humana natura.—Hippocrates de aere, aqua, et regionibus. pergameno, 4°.

25. Eulogium temporis, a condito orbe in annum Christi 1367, monachi cujusdem Niniani.* pergameno, f°.

26. Rogerii Bachonis summa, seu opus tertium, ad Clementem P. M.—Ejusdem Bachonis majoris operis pars quarta, in qua ostenditur potestas mathematicæ in scientiis atque rebus mundi hujus. — Ejusdem compendium studii theologici. — Liber præceptorum secundum Albertum. —Liber de sigillis solis in signis, secundum Hermetem. — Albertus de sigillo et annulo leonis, et ejus virtutibus.—Arnoldus de Villa Nova de sigillis duodecim signorum. papyro, f°.

27. Rogerii Bachonis communium naturalium libri duo, quatuor sectionibus distincti. pergameno, f°.

In boards, with clasps.

28. Alpetraugii de verificatione motuum cœlestium liber.—Thebith de his quæ indigent expositione, antequam legatur Almagestum Ptolomæi. — Liber florum Albumasar.—Liber experimentorum Albumasar. — Liber practicorum geometriæ.—Jacobi Alkindi liber de aspectibus.—Petri de Dacia commentum super tractatum algorismi. —Joh. de Sacrobosco super tractatum de sphæra. — Ejusdem computus ecclesiasticus.—Wilhelmus de Aragonia in Ptolomæi centiloquium.—Ars al-

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* Now MS. Cotton. Galba, E. VIII., partially burnt by the fire. Another copy of this work is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, R. vii. 2.

gorismi de fractionibus. — Scripta utilia super computum manualem. — Joh: de Sicilia in canones Arzachelis de tabulis Toletanis.—Quæstiones mathematicales.* pergameno, f°.

29. Richardi Walyngforde Abbatis S. Albani de sinubus demonstrandis, libri iv.† pergameno, f°.

30. Johannis Massoni Monachi epistolæ.—Epistolæ de somnio Pharaonis, seu Pharaonis et Josephi epistolæ.—Alani enchiridion de planctu seu conquestu naturæ, prosa et versu.—Bernardi Silvestris Cosmographia.‡ pergameno, 4°.

31. Bartholomei Anglici breviarium, seu de proprietatibus rerum. pergameno, f°.

32. Jordani Nemorarii Φιλοτεχνη, sive de triangulis, liber primus, sexaginta quatuor propositiones continens. pergameno, 4°.

33. Rabbi Mosis liber de venenis.—Summa brevis Galeni de cura ethicæ senectutis.—Alberti de Colonia tractatus de incisionibus arborum et plantationibus earum.—Unguentum ad omnem scabiem tollendam, quod dicitur *Veni mecum*, &c.—Tractatus de ornatu faciei.—Hermetis liber de septem planetis, &c. — Rogerii Bachonis nonnulla secreta.—De factura Saxonis Gallici.—Liber de tincturis pannorum.—Liber de coloribus illuminatorum vel pictorum.—De diversis operationibus ignium. — De diversis tincturis.—Hermetis secreta.—Item, multa alia notabilia.—Item, turba philosophorum. pergameno, 4°.

34. Experimentorum diversorum liber.—De vernisio quo utuntur scriptores.—Secreta philosophorum.—De usu virgæ visoriæ, et hujusmodi secreta multa. papyro, 8vo.

35. Arnaldi de Villa Nova thesaurus secretus operationum.—Hermetis liber de lapide philosophorum.—Alfredi liber de

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* Now MS. Harl. 1, "Johannes Dee, 1557." A portion of this volume formerly belonged to John of London.

† The only copies of this work now known are in the Bodleian Library, but I have not succeeded in tracing this one.

‡ Otho, B. IV. vid. Tann. Bibl. p. 518. This MS. was destroyed in the fire of 1731.

spiritu occultato.—Rasis practica, cum aliis viginti quinque libellis variorum autorum consimilis argumenti. papyro, 4°.

36. Ptolomæi quadripartitum, Lat.—Albumazer introductorium. —Isibradi calendarium.—Profacii Judæi almanach. — Zaëlis electiones.—De significationibus planetarum, cum aliis tractatibus. pergameno, 4°.

37. Expositio theoricarum.—Thebith de motu octavæ sphæræ.—Jordanus de ponderibus, cum quæstionibus notabilibus super eundem.—Jacobus Alkindus de radijs, seu de causis reddendis.—An futura possunt per astra præsciri.—Nicolai Oresmi liber divinationum. — Thomæ Bravardini geometria. —Perspectiva communis Joh. de Pecham.—Dominici de Hassia quæstiones super perspectivam communem. — Euclides de speculis.—Jacobus Alkindus de umbris et causis diversitatum aspectuum.—Dominici de Clavaso practica geometriæ.—Demonstratio æqualitatis lineæ ad peripheriam circuli.—Quadratura circuli.—Expositio tractatus de sphæra, cum quæstionibus.—Algorismus in integris Joh. de Sacro-Bosco.—Algorithmus in minutiis Joh. de Lineriis.—Thomæ Bravardini tractatus proportionum.

38. Joh. de Pecham canticum pauperum.—Joh. Walensis communiloquium.—Ejusdem Walensis dietarium, locarium, itinerarium. — Ejusdem breviloquium. — Tractatus, cujus initium est, *Supra tribus sceleribus*.—Aristotelis liber de secretis secretorum. pergameno, 4°.

39. Liber Physiologi de natura animalium et bestiarum. pergameno, 8°.

40. Gualteri Burlæi tractatus de potentiis animæ. pergameno, 4°.

41. Rogerii Bachonis perspectiva. — Ejusdem de multiplicatione specierum. pergameno, 4°.

In paste-bords, with strings.

42. Tractatuli tres de lapide philosophorum, quorum primi initium est, "Dicit philosophus," &c.

43. Vectii Valentis anthologia.—Aristoxeni musica. — Alippii

musica—Cleomedes de mundo.—Expositio astrolabii.—Hipparchus in Aratum et Eudoxum.—*Græcè omnes.* papyro, f°.

44. Libellus antiquissimus de speculis comburentibus, cujus initium est, " De sublimiori," &c.* pergameno, 4°.

45. Jordanus de ponderibus cum scholiis, cujus initium est " Omnis ponderosi." pergameno, f°.

46. Raymundi Lullii liber de quinta essentia. pergameno, f°.

47. Boetius de consolatione philosophiæ, in *Græcam* linguam conversus a Maximo Planude.—Catonis distica, cum scholiis Planudis, &c. *Græcè.*—Aphthonij progymnasmata, *Græcè.* papyro, f°.

I gave this Booke to Cracovia Library, A°. 1584, July 28.

48. Porphirii philosophi Isagoge in Aristotelis logicam, *Græcè.* papyro, f°.

49. Naupegia Itali cujusdam, cum figuris. papyro, 4°.

50. Dionysii Zecharii opusculum de lapide philosophorum, *Gallicè.* papyro, 4°.

51. Roberti Gloucestrensis chronica, *rythmo Anglico.*† papyro, f°.

52. Hystoria Britannicorum principum a Cadowaladro Rege ad Leolinum, per Humfredum Lluyd collecta, *Anglicè.*‡ papyro, f°.

53. Variæ compositiones aquarum mercurialium et alia experimenta chemica, *Anglicè,* cujus initium est, " He that will make," &c. papyro, 4°.

54. Varia experimenta chimica, *Anglicè,* quorum initium est, " For to make white lead." pergameno, f°.

55. Alberti Magni summa naturalium, cujus initium est, " Philosophia dividitur." papyro, 4°.

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* Now in MS. Vespas. A. II. art. 12, "Joannes Dee, 1555." This is an extremely curious and valuable tract in the history of optical science, and is similar to the curious treatise by Gogava *De speculo ustorio*. The focus of the parabola is here for the first time indicated, a circumstance which has escaped the notice of scientific historians.

† The only MS. of Robert of Gloucester's poem, answerable to this description, is in the University Library, Cambridge.

‡ This MS. is now in the library of the Ashmolean Museum, No. 846.

56. Rogerii Bachonis annotationes super Aristotelis tractatum de secretis secretorum. pergameno, f°.

57. Phillipi Ulstadii cœlum philosophorum. impressum, f°.

58. Inventa quædam geometrica. papyro, f°.

My owne hand, of Richard Chancellor and Thomas Topely.

59. Dumbyltoni summa. pergameno, f°.

60. Beda de gestis Anglorum. pergameno, 4°.

61. Euclidis geometrica.—Rogerii Bachonis perspectiva.—Aristotilis problemata.—Campani theoricæ planetarum. pergameno, 4°.

62. Volumina duo magna, *Hebraicè*, de astrologicis judiciis.—Alchimia Salomonis. papyro, f°. 2 vol.

63. Roberti Groshed, Lincolniensis episcopi, dicta; quorum initium est, "Spiritus Sanctus per os Salomonis," &c.—Ejusdem tractatus de cessatione legalium. — Ejusdem tractatus de oculo morali, una cum aliis variis. pergameno, f°.

64. Isaac Judæi logica, cum aliis variis consimilis argumenti, *Hebraicè*. papyro, 4°.

65. Alhazen perspectiva, &c. pergameno, 4°.

John Davis' spoyle.

66. Ramundi Lullii testamentum.—Ejusdem cantilena.—Ejusdem codicillus, sive vade mecum.—Ejusdem anima transmutatoria.—Annotationes super testamentum Ramundi.—Lapidarius Raymundi.—Quæstiones de Paulina Ramundi.—Quæstiones de Olympiade Ramundi. — Declaratio tabularum figuræ 5. Ramundi.—Repertorium Raymundi.—Tractatus de consideratione lapidis. — Philosophia cujusdam Ramundistæ. — Joh. Dastini chimici somnium, seu visiones, *Anglicè*.—Ramundi Lullii distinctio tertia.—Anima artis, juxta exemplar in Anglia repertum.—Apocalypsis spiritus secreti.—Ars conversionis Mercurii et Saturni in aurum et argentum, seu de aquis Theuthidis.—Aristotelis lumen luminum.—Raimundi Lullii quæstionarius arboris philosophalis.—Quæstionarius figuræ quad-

rangularis.—Quæstionarius figuræ 5.—Tertia distinctio juxta aliud exemplar.—Aphorismi.—Accurtatio. – Practica secreti occulti.—Opus magnum, sive opus regale.—Considerationes operis minoris.—Cantilena *Catalonicè*, cum commento.—Ars brevis, &c. papyro, f°.

67. Ramundi Lulli speculum alchimiæ. — Ejusdem liber de quinta essentia.—Ejusdem lapidarius, scilicet de gemmis.—Joh. Dastini liber de compositione lapidis.—Ejusdem donum Dei.—Liber radicum. — Liber administrationum. — Ejusdem Dastini speculum philosophorum.—Rasis de duodecim aquis, &c. papyro, f°.

68. Aneti filii Abraham practica medica.—Scarsati practica medicinalis, una cum aliis. pergameno, 4°.

69. Eathelredi Abbatis Rievallis de vita Edowardi regis Anglorum et Confessoris.* pergameno, 4°.

70. Roberti episcopi Lincolniensis tractatus in lingua Romana, hoc est, *veteri rithmo Gallico*, de principio creationis mundi, de medio et fine, &c. pergameno, 4°.

71. Wilhelmi de Northfeilde expositio super librum de differentia spiritus et animæ.—Ejusdem expositio super diversa opuscula Aristolelis phisicorum.† pergameno, f°.

72. Magistri Franconis regulæ musicales, cum additionibus aliorum musicorum, collectæ a Roberto de Handlo.—Rogerii Bachonis perspectiva, una cum aliis geometricis et astrologicis. pergameno, f°.

73. Gualtheri Burlei notabilia super Porphyrii prædicabilia, et Aristotelis prædicamenta, una cum aliarum notationum libellis. papyro, 4°.

74. Boetii Musica.—Hermannus Contractus de compositione astrolabii, et de ejus utilitatibus. pergameno, 4°

75. Chronica de imperatoribus seu compendium historiarum in prima monarchia Babiloniorum, in annum Christi 1266.—

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* Now MS. Harl. 200, "Joannes Dee, 1575."

† Now C. C. C. Oxon. No. 235.

Joh. de Bononia summa pontificum Romanorum et imperatorum in annum Christi 1313. — Alexandri Magni ortus et res gestæ. pergameno, 4°.

76. Wilhelmi Wodford, ordinis Minorum, opusculum quæstionum quarundam, contra dialogum Joh. Wycklyf a Thoma Cantuariensi archiepiscopo condemnatum.—Thomas Palmere tractatus de imaginibus, cum aliis variis. papyro, 4°.

77. Collectanea quædam chimica Siberti Rhodii. papyro, f°.

78. Roberti Holcot quæstiones super quatuor libros Lombardi sententiarum.—Ejusdem quæstiones de astronomia. pergameno, 4°.

79. Arnaldi de Villa Nova liber de alchimia, cujus initium est, "Scito, fili, quod in hoc libro," una cum aliis ejusdem opusculis. papyro, 4°.

80. Ethici philosophi cosmographia, per D. Hieronymum Stredonem Lat. conversa. pergameno, f°.

81. Rogerii Bachonis epistolæ tres, sive scripta tria ad Joh. Parisiensem, in quibus latet sapientia mundi.—Kalid rex ad Morienum.—Gebri et Avicennæ chimica. papyro, 4°.

82. Euclidis elementorum geometricorum libri decem. — Ejusdem perspectiva, &c. Lat. papyro, 4°.

83. Alhazeni perspectiva, libri septem, Lat. pergameno, f°.

84. De fabrica speculi ustorii fragmentum.—Urso de effectibus qualitatum primarum.—Liber vaccæ.—Alberti dona.—Thomas Aquinas de essentiis rerum. pergameno, 4°.

85. Ricardi Hampole liber, qui dicitur Incendium Amoris, *Anglicè*. pergameno, f°.

86. Alhazeni perspectiva, Lat.—Item Alfraganus, &c. Lat. pergameno, f°.

87. Albumazar de judiciis astrologicis. pergameno, f°.

88. Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis conclusiones phisicæ, &c. ex Aristotele excerptæ. papyro, f°.

89. Joh. Eschuidi summa Anglicana, seu medicinalis. pergameno, f°.

90. Bartholomæus Anglicus de proprietatibus rerum.
pergameno, f. grandiori.

91. Jordani Nemorarii arithmetica cum commento.—Algorithmus in integris Joh. de Sacrobosco.—Algorithmus in minutiis, Joh. de Lineriis.—Campani theorica planetarum.—Nicholai Oresmi tractatus de proportionibus proportionum.*—Jordani tractatus de commensuratione cœlestium.—Gervasii algorithmus proportionum.—Demonstrationes conclusionum astrolabii.—Tractatus de torqueto et ejus usu.—Tabulæ Alfonsi regis Castellæ.—Canones tabularum Alfonsi per Joh. de Saxonia.—Joh. de Lineriis canones tabularum primi mobilis.—Jacob Alkindus de impressio[n]ibus aeris.—Rogerii Bachonis de utilitate arithmeticæ.—Campani compostus ecclesiasticus.—Jordani algorithmus demonstratus.
pergameno, f°.

92. Helinandi Monachi Cistercien. chronicorum mundi libri xxx. hoc est, pars prima. pergameno, f°.

93. Francisci Catanei Diacetii paraphrasis in Aristotelem de cœlo, &c. pergameno, f°.

94. Isidori Hispalensis liber de natura rerum, cum glosulis.—Prisciani institutio.—Bedæ versus de die judicii.
pergameno, 4°.

95. Tractatus de figuris stellarum in octava sphæra.—Gebri libri novem de astronomia.—Almagesti libri sex abbreviati.—Jordani libri de triangulis.—Plures conclusiones Almagisti abbreviati.—Archimedis liber de curvis superficiebus.—Tractatus Albeonis.—Tabula pro locis planetarum.—Tractatus Zaphei Arzachelis, &c.—Capitula libri Almagesti.—Compendium musices ex Boetio.—Euclidis elementa geometrica.—Gebri conclusiones de astronomia.—Theodosii sphærica.—Milei de figuris sphæricis et triangulis, libri tres.—Tabulæ planetarum de radicibus et motibus.—Machumeti Bagde-

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* Extract from this article in MS. Bernard, 3467, where there are other extracts from MSS. in Dee's possession.

dini liber divisionum. — Tractatus de quinque corporibus regularibus. — Tractatus de speculis comburentibus.—Tabula domificandi, pro latitudine Oxoniens.—Tabulæ plurium latitudinum, secundum Bachecumbe.—Thebith tractatus de motu.—Tractatus de proportione circumferentiæ circuli, &c.—Tabulæ quatuor solis. pergameno, f°.

96. Rogeri Bachonis tractatus de virtutibus et actionibus stellarum. papyro, 4°.

97. Vitellionis perspectiva.* pergameno, f°.

98. Theodosii sphærica.—Euclidis data, Lat.—Archimides de quadratura circuli. pergameno, 4°.

99. Haly de judiciis astrorum. pergameno, f°.

100. Boetius de consolatione philosophiæ cum commento. — Scripta super plures libros geometriæ.—Jordanus de speculis. —Jordanus de ponderibus. — Archadii demonstrationes de quadratura circuli. — Tractatus Hermanni de astrolabio. — Liber de similibus arcubus.—Archimedes de figuris isoperimetris.—Archimedes de curvis superficiebus. pergameno, 4°.

101. Avicenna de prima philosophia, i. e. de causa causarum, vel metaphisica, Lat. pergameno, 4°.

102. Alhazeni perspectiva. pergameno, 4°

103. Ricardi de Posis summa epistolarum (quasi ars quædam notariatus) secundum consuetudinem Romanæ curiæ. pergameno, f°.

104. Arzachelis tabulæ astronomicæ. pergameno, 4°.

105. Chronicon Angliæ, *Anglicè*, manuscriptum. pergameno, f°.

106. Aristotelis commentum in astrologiam (fragmentum). pergameno, 4°

107. Alberti Magni minerarium. pergameno, 4°.

108. Haly de judiciis astrorum. — Liber novem judicum in astrologia.—Jafar de imbribus.—Messahala de nativitatibus.

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* Now MS. Ashm. No. 424. From a MS. note it appears that, in 1564, the Fellows of Peterhouse, at Cambridge, presented this book to Dr. Dee, in exchange for various printed books which he gave to their library. Vid. MS. C.C.C. Oxon. No. 191.

—Aristotelis liber de judiciis universalibus.—Hani Benhannæ liber de geometria.—Guido Bonatus de astrologio.* papyro, f°. magno.

109. Algorithmus integrorum cum commento.—Algorithmus fractorum cum commento. — Summa utriusque arithmeticæ Boetii.—Arithmetica compilata ex multis scientiis.—Liber de figuris numerorum. — Practica memorandi.—Tractatus de speculo combustorio secundum sectionem Mukesij.—Euclidis geometricorum libri 15. cum commento.—Jordanus de ponderibus cum commento.—Euclides de ponderibus cum commento.—Euclidis datorum liber cum commento.—Archimedes de curvis superficiebus cum commento.—Archimedes de quadratura circuli, cum commento. — Archimede[s] de figuris ysoperimetrorum.—Theodosii sphærica.—Rob. Lincoln[i]ensis episcopi, de luce, calore, et iride. — Vitellionis perspectivæ libri quatuor. pergameno, f°.

110. Rob. Lincoln[i]ensis episcopi constitutiones pro sua diocesi, videl. in decalogum, &c. pergameno, f°.

111. Perspectiva Algazet, forte Halazen. Lat. pergameno, 4°

112. Annales regulorum Cambricorum, a Cadowaladro ad Leolini tempora, *lingua Brytannica sive Cambrica.* papyro, 4°

113. Perquisita et alia quæ pertinebant ad Winchecumbe Abbatiam.† pergameno, 4°.

114. Boetii arithmetica. pergameno, 4°.

115. Quæstiones erudite disputatæ super librum meteororum Aristotelis. pergameno, 4°.

116. De Indorum et Persarum annis astronomicis. — Annotationes in Martianum Capellam. pergameno, 4°.

117. De potentiis animæ. — Auberti Remensis philosophia.—Oliveri philosophia.—Petrus Hispanus de morte et vita, et causis longitudinis et brevitatis vitæ.—Albertus de divinatione.

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* Now MS. Savil. Oxon. No. 15.

† It does not appear from Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, or from Sir Thomas Phillipps's Catalogue, that this MS. is now preserved.

De spiritu et inspiratione.—De signis aquarum, ventorum et tempestatum.—Ramundus Massiliensis de cursu planetarum.—Alexander Aphrodiseus ad imperatores Antoninum et Severum de fato.—Quæstiones de intellectu.—Quæstiones de anima.—Hermannus Secundus de essentiis.—Platonis Phædon, sive de anima.—Commentum super Platonis Timæum.—Platonis Menon. Lat. pergameno, f°.

118. De administratione principum liber. pergameno, 4°.

119. Isidori Hispalensis etymologiarum fragmentum magnum. pergameno, f°.

120. Tabulæ astronomicæ ad annos decem, cum canonibus.—Algorithmus demonstratus cum minutiis.—Alfraganus de annis.—Alcabicii astrologia.—Tabulæ de numeris proportionalibus.—Computus cum calendario. pergameno, 4°.

121. Polychronica. pergameno, f°.

122. Polychronicon. pergameno, f° minori.

123. Hystoriæ Britannicæ et Angliæ fragmentum, *Gallicè* conscriptum. pergameno, 4°.

124. Guido Bonatus de judiciis astrorum. pergameno, f°.

125. Passionale. pergameno, f°.

126. Astronomici libelli cujusdam fragmentum, cujus initium est, "A philosophis astronomiam sic definitam accepimus." pergameno, 4°.

127. Expositio quædam super Cantica Canticorum.—Ars fidei secundum Ambionensem.—Macrobius in somnium Scipionis. pergameno, f°.

The second tract is cut out, and to be answered for.

128. Matricula, sive catalogus bibliothecæ Cantuariensis. papyro, f°.

129. Author de causis cum demonstrationibus. pergameno, f°.

130. Alchimicus libellus, *Anglicè*, cujus initium est, "Take limale." papyro, 4°.

131. Libellus chimicus, *Latinè*.—Varii tractatus super capitulum Hermetis quod dicitur "Clavis Sapientiæ Majoris." pergameno, f°.

132. Sidrach philosophi liber, *Gallicè.* pergameno, 4°.

133. Kallendarium.—Quædam de computu ecclesiastico, *Latinè et Saxonicè.*—Alphabetum somniale.—Præces quædam piæ.* pergameno, 8°.

134. Lectiones cujusdam super Ecclesiasticen. pergameno, f°.

135. Commentarius bonus in definitiones quinti libri Euclidis.—Euclides totus ex Campani traditione.—Explicatio bona Archimedis de quadratura circuli. pergameno, 4.

136. Cicero de natura deorum.—Catonis liber ad Varronem.—Euclidis liber cum commento.—Preceptum canonum Ptolomæi.—Tractatus astrolabii duplicis cum practica.—Tabulæ astronomicæ.—Aristotelis epistola de rectitudine vitæ, ad Alexand.—Henrici Britton philosophia.—Oliveri Britton philosophia.—Philosophia Remensis et aliorum.—Liber de speculis, liber de visu, et quædam alia. pergameno, 4°.

137. Boetii arithmetica.—Ejusdem de trinitate libri.—Ejusdem de duobus in Christo naturis.—Ejusdem de hebdomadibus.—Rob. Grostesti, Lincolniensis episcopi, de arte algorismi communi.—Ejusdem alius tractatus magis in speciali.—Thebith super Almagistum Ptolomæi.—Theodosius de locis habitabilibus.—Theoria planetarum cum tabulis necessariis.—Commentum super Centiloquium Ptolomæi.—Ars cheiromantiæ, *in Gallico sermone.* — De interpretationibus somniorum. — De significationibus tonitruorum.—Physiognomia secundum Thomam Aquinatem.—De prognosticationibus tempestatum.—De pluribus necessariis ad casus inquirendos secundum algorismum.—Cheiromantia, Lat.† pergameno, 4°.

138. Astronomica, astrologica, et arithmetica.—Observationes quædam planetarum et fixarum, Petri de Sancto Audomaro et et Joh. de Lineriis. pergameno, 4°.

139. Tabulæ astronomicæ cum canonibus. pergameno, 8°.

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* The MS. described by Wanley, p. 222, as MS. Cotton. Vitell. A. xviij, now destroyed, is probably the one here mentioned. The Cotton. MS. Jul. A. vj. also answers the brief description above given.

† Now in Trinity College, Dublin. See Dr. Bernard's Catalogue, No. 46.

140. Libellus de natura locorum. pergameno, 8°.

141. Ivonis Carnutensis varii tractatus ecclesiastici, et volumen epistolarum diversorum ad diversos, &c. pergameno, f°.

142. Boetii musica.—Expositio Simonis de Bredon super duos libros arithmeticæ Boetii. pergameno, 4°.

143. Calcidius in Platonis Timæum.* pergameno, 4° long.

144. Marii de elementis libri duo.—Liber qui dicitur Prenonphysicon.—Alardi Bathoniensis quæstiones naturales.—Physiognomia secundum tres authores, videlicet, Loxum, Aristotelem, et Palemonem.—Liber spermatis.—Soranus de re medica.—Constantini liber de herbis.—Dioscorides de virtutibus herbarum, Lat.—Oribasius de virtutibus herbarum, Lat.—Odonis Adunensis versus de virtutibus herbarum.—Isidori Hyspalensis etymologiarum libri.—Constantini Medici liber graduum.—Euphonis experimenta.—Adamarii experimenta.—Joh. Melancholici experimenta.—Experimenta Abbatis.—Experimenta Wiscardi.—Experimenta Picoti.—De urina mulieris.—Expositio quintæ incisionis epidemiarum Hippocratis.—Joh. Melancholici liber de substantia urinæ.—Palladius de agricultura.—Liber de simplici medicina. pergameno, f°.

145. Alberti Magni magia naturalis et vera.—Idiotæ liber, authore Cusano.—Contra Jacobellinos in Bohemia.—Antonii Barsizii cauteriaria, comedia, una cum aliis variis. papyro, f°.

146. Aristotelis physicorum libri octo.—Ejusdem de generatione et corruptione, lib. 2.—De cœlo et de mundo, libri 4.—Meteorum libri 4.—De vegetabilibus, &c.—De anima, libri tres.—De memoria et reminiscentia.—Ethicorum secundus et tertius.—De morte et vita, et alia ejusdem Aristotelis, Latinè. pergameno, 4°.

147. Serapionis de aptatione et repressione, seu servitor Serapionis. pergameno, f°.

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* Now MS. Bib. Reg. Mus. Brit. 12 B. XXII, "Johannes Dee, 1557, 4 Maij, Londini."

148. Thomas de Aquino de veritate theologica, libri septem. pergameno, 4°.

149. Alberti magni tractatus de lapidibus.—Jacobus Alkindus de radiis. papyro, f°.

150. Historia Anglica cujusdam anonymi. papyro, 4°.

151. Euclidis optica, catoptrica, et geometria, Lat. pergameno, 4°.

152. Fragmentum theologicum quoddam in Ecclesiasticum. pergameno, f°.

153. Tractatus astrolabij.—De significatione rei occultæ.—De aeris dispositione.—Tabula pro almanack.—Ars notaria.—Aristotelis epistola de conservatione sanitatis.—Rogeri Herefordensis computus.—Compositio astrolabii.—Planisphærium.—Alfraganus.—Geber in Ptolomæi almagestum, una cum aliis. pergameno, 4°.

154. Apologia chemicæ artis, contra Cornelium Agrippum de vanitate scientiarum.—De oleis variis medicinalibus, una cum aliis multis. papyro, 4°.

155. Alcabicius.—Astronomia quædam judicialis.—Zahelis introductorium, cum judiciis sequentibus.—Mathematica Alexandri summi astrologi.—Jacob Alkindus de judiciis astrologicis.—Albumazar de revolutionibus annorum mundi.—Summæ excerptæ ex libro Albumazar, de revolutione nativitatum.—Albohali de nativitatibus.—Albumazar liber florum.—Almanack perpetuum Profacii Judæi.—Thomas Aquinas de angelis.* 4° pergameno.

156. Lamentationes Mathæoluli, carmine.† pergameno, 4°.

157. Hippocratis aphorismi.—Ejusdem prognostica.—Ejusdem liber de regimine acutorum.—Ejusdem liber epidemiarum.—Ejusdem astronomia de infirmitatibus.—Johannicii isogoge

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* This MS. is now in the Ashmolean collection, No. 360.

† This is probably the copy now in MS. Cotton. Cleopatra, C. IX. I know of no other which answers the description.

in Galeni Tecknin.—Hyppocratis secreta.—Tractatus de compositione astrolabii.—Tractatus de practica astrolabii.—Tractatus de compositione novi quadratis.—Campani tractatus de motibus planetarum et de fabricatione equatorii instrumenti per quod certa loca planetarum inveniuntur.—Petri Perigrini tractatus de magnete.*—Jordani liber Planisphærii.—Euclidis liber de speculis.—Jordani tractatus de ponderibus.—Practica geometriæ. pergameno, 4o.

158. Rogerii Bachonis calendarium.—Tabula ad sciendum quis planetadominetur omni hora cujus libet diei.—Tabula multiplicationis.—Liber de naturis rerum abreviatus.—Marbodeus de sculpturis gemmarum.—Liber de lapidibus filiorum Israel.—Hippocratis signa in infirmo.—Unguentum alabastri.—De modo faciendi olei.—De aquis mundificativis oculorum faciei, et aliorum spiritualium membrorum.—De pilatoria.—Ut pili nascantur ubi volueris.—De conservatione vini.—Gregorii dialogorum liber primus et secundus.—Vita Sancti Nicholai.—Vita Sancti Ægidij. pergameno, 4o.

159. Computus ecclesiasticus.—Beda de calculatione.—Computus. pergameno, 4o.

160. Wilhelmi de Conchis philosophia.† pergameno, 4o.

161. Quæstiones super elenchos, et alia logicalia. papyro, 4o.

162. Quæstiones de apparentiis, seu fallaciis sophisticis, manuscriptæ. papyro.

163. Alberti de Saxonia tractatus proportionum, 4o impressus Rothomagi.—Jacobi Lupi tractatus de productionibus personarum in divinis, secundum mentem Joh. Scoti, 4o impressum.—Una cum aliis tractatibus variarum quæstionum,— papyro manuscript. 4o.

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* Dee's own copy of the printed edition, with his MS. notes, is in the British Museum. "Johannes Dee, 1562."

† Now MS. Bib. S. Joh. Coll. Cantab. G. 3. "Johannes Dee, 1557, 4 Maii."

164. Henrici Beaumundi regimen sanitatis, cum aliis variis experimentis, tam *Anglicè* quam Latinè scriptis. pergameno, 4o

165. Avicenna de naturalibus.—Ejusdem de sufficientia.—Thomæ de Aquino tractatus de essentia.—Avendauth de quinque universalibus.—Alchindi philosophi de quinque essentiis, ex verbis Aristotelis abstractus liber.—Platonis Timæus.—Isaac de diffinitionibus, Lat.—Jacob de rationali in anima.—Alexandri Philosophi de intellectu et intelligibili liber, Lat.—Algacelis logica.—Alchindus de intellectu et intellecto.—Amaometh liber introductorius in artem logicam demonstrationis.—Averrhois de substantia orbis.—Alfarabius de intellectu et intellecto.—Liber planetarum cujusdam discipuli Ptolomæi.—Mercurius Trismegistus.—Secundus Philosophus de diffinitionibus.—Boetius de unitate.—Liber de differentia spiritus et animæ.—Liber metaphisicæ Avicennæ, qui non est completus.

166. De philosophia Salomonis.—Fulgentius episcopus ad Calcidium Grammaticum.—Experimenta quædam alchimica.—Cassiodorus de anima, una cum aliis theologicis. pergameno, 8o.

167. Boetii arithmetica.—Theorica planetarum et stellarum secundum Alfraganum.—Boetii musica.—Euclidis geometrica.—Propositiones planisphærii Ptolomæi cum additionibus.—Maslem Arabis. * pergameno, 4°.

168. Disputatio inter militem et clericum. pergameno, 4°.

169. Joh. Scoti quæstiones super secundo et tertio libro Aristotelis de anima.—Antonii Andreæ quæstiones in Aristotelis meteora. papyro, 4°.

170. Isidori Hispalensis liber differentiarum.—Cic. academicæ quæstiones.—Ejusdem natura deorum.—Ejusdem de divinatione.—Ejusdem de fato.—Ejusdem paradoxa.—Ejusdem Philippicæ orationes.—Libellus de bestiis, avibus, et arboribus.—

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* Now MS. Lambeth, No. 67. Dee's autograph has been erased from the fly-leaf, but "1558, 30 Junii, Londini," remains in his handwriting.

Salustius de bello Catilinario et Jugurthino.—Vegetius de re militari, &c. pergameno, 4°.

171. Computus Ecclesiasticus. pergameno, 8°.

172. Solinus de mirabilibus mundi. pergameno, 4°.

173. Bona gesta Mariæ.—Maleus, &c. pergameno, 16°.

174. Sortilegia nugatoria. pergameno, 8°.

175. Sortilegia nugatoria. pergameno, 4°.

176. Joh. Sarisberiensis policraticum, sive de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum, libri octo. pergameno, 4°.

177. Computus manualis, cum aliis sexaginta quinque tractatibus variorum autorum in medicinalibus, physicis, astronomicis, et aliis. pergameno, 8°.

178. Gebri summa alchimiæ. pergameno, 4°.

179. Hermetis cujusdam libellus de rebus universalibus. pergameno, 4°.

180. Imago mundi, cujus initium est, "Operatio divina." pergameno, 4°.

181. Thomæ Bravardini Anglici propositiones geometriæ. pergameno, 4°.

182. Macer de virtutibus herbarum. pergameno, 4°.

183. Libellus medicinæ et chirurgiæ, partim Latinè, partim *Anglicè*, partim etiam *Gallicè*. pergameno, 16°.

184. Ramundi Lulii practica chimica, *Anglicè*.* papyro, 4°.

185. Alchimica; videlicet tres tractatus alchimici, Volvi lapidem, &c.—De quinta essentia Mercurii.—Secretum secretorum Pleri philosophi. pergameno, 4°.

186. Roberti Lincolniensis episcopi, de luce, de iride, cum multis aliorum tractatis circiter 34. pergameno, 4°.

A thick booke with a labell.

187. Libri diversi astrologici, quorum primi initium est, "Postulata a Domino." pergameno, 4°.

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* Now MS. Sloan. 2128.

188. Rogeri Bachonis, Morieni Romani, Joh. Viennensis, Alberti Magni, Hermetis, Rasis, Hortulani, chimica quædam.
pergameno, 8°.

189. Speculum secretorum, cum aliis haud contemnendis chemicis fragmentis. pergameno, 4°.

190. Joh. de Sacrobosco sphæra.—Johannicii glossulæ, cum aliis tractatibus.—Rogeri Bachonis et Rob. Lincolniensis episcopi, &c. pergameno, 4°.

191. Libellus chimicus, cujus initium est, "Materia lapidis."
papyro, 8°.

192. Jacobi Alkindi de pluviis, imbribus, ventis, et de mutatione aeris. papyro, f°.

193. Liber duodecim aquarum, &c.* pergameno, 4°.

194. Ægidii de Wallecers computus, de cometis, de crepusculis. —Tabulæ domorum et ascensionum.—Kallendarii errores.—Jo. de Pecham perspectiva communis.—30 Arabes, qui dicuntur Magistri probationum.—Tractatus minutiarum, una cum aliis.
pergameno, 8°.

195. Abraham Judæi liber de judiciis nativitatum, cum aliis variis. papyro, 4°.

196. Albertus de mineralibus, cujus initium est, "De mixtione et coagulatione," &c.—Rogerii Bachonis epistola prima ad Joh. Parisiensem.—Summa aurea, una cum multorum aliorum tractatibus. pergameno, 4°.
In a black cover with clasps.

197. Ludus astronomicus. papyro, 8°.

198. Parisiensis liber, cujus initium est, "Augustinus de Civitate Dei," &c. papyro, 4°.

199. Pomum Ambræ.—Trotulæ de ornatu mulierum.—Ascarus Philosophus de signis mulierum.—De secretis mulierum, cum aliis experimentis.—Theophilus Monachus de coloribus.

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* Now in Magdalen College, Oxford, No. 277.

—Eraclius de coloribus et artibus Roman.—Quædam experimenta medica, cum aliis superstitiosis.—Compositio et usus astrolabii, una cum aliis. pergameno, 8°.

[*In that part of the Catalogue describing the printed Books, under the title of " Chemici Libri, &c. Compacti," occur the following Manuscripts.*]

200. Ramundi Lulii ars generalis, cum quæstionibus ejusdem.—De medi[ci]na et astronomia ejusdem.—Speculum medicinæ. 4°.

201. Ramundi Lulii ars magna cum figuris.—Ejusdem ars generalis, cum quæstionibus.—Ejusdem introductorium sive canones artis generalis.—Ejusdem de principiis et medicinæ gradibus.—Ejusdem de regiminibus sanitatis et infirmitatis. f°.

A CATALOGUE OF SUCH OF DR. DEE'S MSS. AS ARE COME TO MY HANDS.

[BY ELIAS ASHMOLE.]*

1. Mysteriorum liber primus, 1581, et 1582.
   It begins 22 Dec. 1581, and ends 15 March 1582.
2. Mysteriorum liber secundus.
   The first leafe is utterly perished. It ends 21 March, 1582.
3. Mysteriorum liber tertius.
   It begins 28 April 1582, and ends 4 May, following.
4. Liber Mysteriorum quartus.
   It began 15 Nov. 1582, but the first leafe is lost. It ends 21 Nov. following.
5. Liber Mysteriorum quintus, 1583.
   It begins 23 March 1583, and ends 18 April following.
6. Quinti libri Mysteriorum appendix.
   It begins 20 April 1583, and ends 23 May following.

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* From Ashmole's MSS. No. 1790, fol. 52ª.

Note that some other of his bookes were set forth by Dr. Casaubon 1659, and the first action (in them) begins 5 daies after the last action of the foresaid appendix, viz. 28 May 1583, which are these that follow.

7. Liber sexti Mysteriorum (et sancti) parallelus novalisque.
   It begins 28 May 1583, and ends 4 July following.
8. Liber Peregrinationis Primæ (sexti Mystici paradromus).
   It begins 21 Sept. 1583, and ends 13 March 1584.
9. Mensis Mysticus Sabbaticus, pars prima ejusdem.
   It begins 10 April 1584, and ends the 30 of that moneth.
10. Libri Mystici Apertorii Cracoviensis Sabbatici 1584.
    But in Dr. Dee's MS. (from which it was printed) it hath this title,
    Libri septimi Apertorii Cracoviensis, Mystici Sabbatici, pars tertia, A°. 1584.
    And beside hath this note, Liber quartus decimus.
    The first action in this booke begins 7 May 1584, and ends 22 May following.
11. Libri Septimi Apertorij Cracoviensis Mystici Sabbatici pars quarta.
    It begins 23 May 1584, and ends 12 July following.
12. Libri Cracoviensis Mysticus Apertorius.
    In the originall MS. it hath this marginall note, "Sive potius, pars quinta libri 7^{mi} &c. Cracoviensis."
    The first action in this booke begins 12 July 1544, and ends 15 August following.
13. Mysteriorum Pragensium liber primus Cæsareusque.
    It begins 15 Aug. stilo novo, 1584. At the bottome of the first leafe in the MS. is written, Liber 19us.
    The last action in this booke is the 7th of Oct. 1584.
14. Mysteriorum Pragensium Confirmatio.
    The first action begins 14 Jan. 1585, and ends the 20 of March following.

15. Mysteriorum Pragensium Confirmatorum liber.
    This booke begins 20 Mar. 1585, and ends 6 June following.
16. Unica Actio; quæ Paccięna vocatur. A°. 1585, Aug. 6.
17. Liber Resurectionis, to which the MS. adds, et 42 Mensium Fundamentum.
    It begins the 30 of April 1586.
    Actio prima et secunda ex septem: is also added in MS.
    The last action in this booke is 21 Jan. 1587.
18. Actio tertia. Mysteriorum divinorum memorabilia, ab actionis (ex septem) tertiæ, descriptæ exordio, cui dies 4° Aprilis, A°. 1587, dicata fuit.
    It begins 4 April 1587, and ends 23 May following.
    Thus far from the Printed Booke.

OTHER MANUSCRIPTS.

19. 48 Claves Angelicæ.
    This booke is writen in the Angelick language. Interlined with an English translation.
    Cracoviæ ab Aprilis 13 ad Julii 13 (diversis temporibus) receptæ, A°. 1584. At the bottome of the title page. Liber 18.
20. Liber Scientiæ, Auxilii et Victoriæ Terrestris.
    Maij 2, stilo novo, 1585 collectus ex præmissis in lib. 10, et aliis.
21. De Heptarchia Mystica Collectaneorum, Lib: primus.
22. Liber Enoch. I suppose Liber Logaeth and this are all one, but in the MS. I copied myne from (which I borrowed from Sir John Cotton) it hath this Title, Liber Mysteriorum Sextus et Sanctus, Liber 8.
23. A Booke of Supplications and Invocations.

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FINIS.

LONDON: J. B. NICHOLS AND SON, PRINTERS, 25, PARLIAMENT-STREET.

CAMDEN SOCIETY.

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF

EARLY HISTORICAL AND LITERARY REMAINS.

At a General Meeting of the Camden Society held at the Freemasons' Tavern, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Monday the 2nd May, 1842,

THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F.R.S., Treas. S.A., Director,
IN THE CHAIR.

The Director having opened the business of the Meeting,

The Secretary read the Report of the Council agreed upon at their meeting of the 28th April last, whereupon it was

Resolved, That the said Report be received and printed, and that the Thanks of the Society be given to the Council for their services.

The Thanks of the Society were also voted to the Editors of the Society's publications; to the Right Honourable Thomas Grenville; to the Master and Fellows of St. Peter's College, Cambridge; to J. I. Blackburn, Esq. M.P.; to the Local Secretaries; and to Messrs. Nichols, for the assistance towards attaining the objects of the Society mentioned in the Report as having been given by them.

The Secretary then read the Report of the Auditors, agreed upon at their meeting of the 30th of April last, whereupon it was

Resolved, That the said Report be received and approved, and that the Thanks of the Society be given to the Auditors for their trouble.

Thanks were then voted to the Director, Treasurer, and Secretary for their services during the past year; and

The Meeting then proceeded to the election of Officers, when

The Right Hon. Lord **Francis Egerton**, M.P.

was elected President, and

Thomas Amyot, Esq. F.R.S. Treas. S.A.
The Right Hon. Lord **Braybrooke**.
John Bruce, Esq. F.S.A.
John Payne Collier, Esq. F.S.A.
Charles Purton Cooper, Esq. Q.C. D.C.L. F.R.S. F.S.A.
T. **Crofton Croker**, Esq. F.S.A. M.R.I.A.
Sir **Henry Ellis**, K.H. F.R.S. Sec. S.A.
James Orchard Halliwell, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.
The Rev. **Joseph Hunter**, F.S.A.
Sir **Frederic Madden**, K.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
John Herman Merivale, Esq. F.S.A.
The Rev. **Lancelot Sharpe**, M.A., F.S.A.
Thomas Stapleton, Esq. F.S.A.
William John Thoms, Esq. F.S.A. and
Thomas Wright, Esq. M.A., F.S.A.

were elected as the Council, and

John Yonge Akerman, Esq. F.S.A.
Charles Frederick Barnwell, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A., and
Peter Cunningham, Esq.

were elected Auditors of the Society for the ensuing year.

Thanks were then voted to the Director, for his able conduct in the Chair.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS, 1842.

At a Meeting of the **Council** of the Camden Society held at No. 25, Parliament Street, Westminster, on Thursday the 5th May, 1842,

Thomas Amyot, Esq. in the Chair;

The Council having proceeded to the Election of Officers,—

Thomas Amyot, Esq. was elected Director; **John Bruce**, Esq. Treasurer; and **William J. Thoms**, Esq. Secretary, for the Year next ensuing.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

DATED 1st MAY, 1842.

THE Council elected on the 3rd May 1841 are pleased to be able to report that the affairs of the Society continue in a condition of unabated prosperity.

The number of 1200 Members, to which the Society is limited, has been maintained; and there continues to be a large number of Candidates for admission upon vacancies.

The investment standing in the names of the Trustees for the Society has been increased, since the last General Meeting, from the sum of £408 0*s*. 4*d*., Three per Cent. consols, to £574 13*s*. 8*d*. This increase has arisen from the investment of sums received for Compositions; and the Council recommend that whatever sum may now be in hand on that account, should be added to the investment.

The Council have added the following gentlemen to the list of Local Secretaries:—

The Rev. Joseph Bosworth, LL.D. for Nottingham.

Richard Rees, Esq. F.S.A. for Cardiff, in the place of Captain W. H. Smyth, retired.

James Heywood Markland, Esq. F.R.S. F.S.A. for Bath, in the place of Rev. William L. Nichols, who has removed.

The Publications for the past year have been—

The Second Book of the Travels of Nicander Nucius, a Corcyræan Gentleman who came to England in the suite of an Ambassador from the Netherlands, sent by the Emperor Charles V. to the Court of Henry VIII.: translated from the Original Greek MS. formerly belonging to Archbishop Laud, and now preserved in the Bodleian Library. Edited by the Rev. JOHN ANTONY CRAMER, D.D. Principal of New Inn Hall, and Public Orator, Oxford.

The Latin Poetry of Walter Mapes, Archdeacon of Oxford at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq. M.A., F.S.A. and

Three inedited Early English Metrical Romances. Edited, from a MS. in the possession of J. I. Blackburn, Esq. M.P., by JOHN ROBSON, Esq.

And—

The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee, from the MS. in the Ashmolean Library, together with a Catalogue of MSS. in his Library. Edited by JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.

is completed at the press, and will be ready for delivery to the Members by the end of the present month. The Council have followed the precedent of former years, in directing that there should be appended to the last-mentioned volume a list of the Members of the Society for the past year; and, if the General Meeting think proper, this Report and that of the Auditors may also be added.

The Council have much satisfaction in being able to state that the "Apology for the Lollards," a work attributed to Wickliffe, which has been so long delayed by reason of the many engagements of the Editor, the Rev. Jas. Henthorn Todd, D.D. is now on the eve of completion; and will certainly be ready for delivery in the ensuing year.

Considerable progress has also been made with the "Promptorium," a Latin and English Dictionary of words in use during the fifteenth century, editing by Albert Way, Esq. F.S.A. a work which the Council believe will be one of great merit and utility; and a portion of it will be one of the publications of the ensuing year.

Besides the Apology for the Lollards and the Promptuary, the following works have been ordered to be put to press at the convenience of their Editors and the Society, and will be published as soon as they are ready.

A Collection of Original Letters and Papers of Literary Men of England during the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I., including some Unpublished Papers of Camden. To be edited by SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.

Latin Romance Narratives and Legends of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth Centuries, relating to King Arthur and other Heroes of the Welsh and Breton cycle of Fiction. To be edited by Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.

Letters and State Papers relating to the Proceedings of the Earl of Leicester in the Low Countries, in the years 1585 and 1586, derived from a MS. placed at the disposal of the Society by Frederick Ouvry, Esq. and other sources. To be edited by JOHN BRUCE, Esq. F.S.A.

The Private Diary of Thomas Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, temp. James II.

The Romance of Jean and Blonde of Oxford, by Philippe de Reims, an Anglo-Norman Poet, of the latter end of the twelfth Century. To be edited from a Unique MS. in the Royal Library at Paris, by M. LE ROUX DE LINCY, editor of the Roman de Brut.

The Council have added the following works to the list of Suggested Publications—

A Collection of Original Letters relating to the Dissolution of the Monasteries and some other points connected with the Reformation. To be edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq. M.A., F.S.A.

Specimens of the Anglo-Latin Poets from the seventh to the thirteenth century, selected from inedited MSS. and arranged chronologically, with notices of the Writers and popular Notes. To be edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq. M.A., F.S.A.

Contemporary Diary of a resident in London, extending from the Year 1550 to 1563, now the Cottonian MS. Vitellius F. v. To be edited by JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, Esq. F.S.A.

The Council have to direct the attention of the Society to the obligations conferred upon it by J. I. Blackburne, Esq. M.P. by giving the Society the use of the MS. of the Three Romances, edited by Mr. Robson.

Also by the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville, in placing in Mr. Way's hands, upon the application of the Director, his valuable early printed editions of the "Promptorium," which Mr. Way wished to use for his edition of that work; and by the Master and Fellows of Saint Peter's College, Cambridge, for the readiness with which, upon a similar application, they lent the Council, for the use of Mr. Way, a valuable MS., entitled Campus Florum.

The same exertions, in behalf of the Society, which former Councils have acknowledged, have been continued to be made by the Local Secretaries, and other friends of the Society resident in the country; and the Council trust that such exertions will not be relaxed. To diffuse a knowledge of the existence and objects of the Society tends, not merely to promote its welfare, but also to carry out the purpose for which it was established, by directing the attention of the possessors of MSS. to those collections in which there yet exist, unpublished, inestimable papers which this Society would be ready and willing to make available.

Messrs. Nichols have continued to the Council the same attentions, and have rendered them the same valuable and gratuitous assistance in the general management of the affairs of the Society, which they have given from its Institution. Nothing can be more honourable to Messrs. Nichols, or more advantageous to the Society; and the Council are assured, that it is only necessary for them to state the fact to the Members, in order to its being duly appreciated.

The Council have to regret the loss, by death, during the last year, of the Rt. Hon. THOS. P. COURTENAY, who, in addition to valuable services as a Member of the Council, was one of the Trustees of the Society, and gave much attention to its affairs. The Council have filled up the vacancy in the Trusteeship by electing to that office CHARLES PURTON COOPER, Esq. LL.D., Q.C., F.R.S., F.S.A.

The Council have also to regret the death of HENRY BOWER, Esq. F.S.A. the very zealous and efficient Local Secretary of the Society at Doncaster; and also of the following other Members:

THOMAS BARNES, Esq.
GEORGE FREDERICK BELTZ, Esq. F.S.A. Lancaster Herald.
HENRY EYTON, Esq.
The Rev. THOMAS DUDLEY FOSBROKE, F.S.A.
F. T. GRAYLING, Esq.
Lieut.-Col. JOHN HARVEY.
JOHN HOLMES, Esq. F.S.A. East Retford.
THEODORE EDWARD HOOK, Esq. F.S.A.
HENRY MITCHISON, Esq.
JOHN MOORE, Esq. F.S.A.
The Right Hon. the Earl of MUNSTER, F.R.S., Pr. As. S.

The Rev. **George Frederick Nott**, D.D., F.S.A.
Edward Skegg, Esq. F.R.G.S.
John Sydney Taylor, Esq.
Lieut.-Gen. **William Thornton**.
Henry Woodthorpe, Esq. F.S.A.

The Council report that the Treasurer, having found that other engagements prevented his any longer devoting to the accounts and financial correspondence of the Society the time and attention which, after an experience of three years, he found to be absolutely necessary to be given to them, submitted to the Council the propriety of their accepting his resignation, or of making some other arrangement with respect to the accounts. The Council, regarding the subject as one vitally affecting the welfare of the Society, proceeded immediately to take it into their consideration, and are happy to be able to report that they have effected an arrangement by which the accounts are now kept, and the financial correspondence is attended to, by the Secretary, the Treasurer still continuing responsible to the Society. This arrangement will put the Society to a small annual expense, which can very well be afforded, and which the Council are persuaded the Members will think well bestowed, if it has the effect of preserving accuracy in the accounts. The recent arrangements in the Post Office render it easy for country Members to transmit their subscriptions by Post Office orders, which course the Council recommend to be adopted, making the Post Office orders payable to the Treasurer.

After the lapse of four years of continuing prosperity the Council hope that the Camden Society may be regarded as having taken a permanent station amongst established publishing associations. Many societies have been founded upon similar principles, and one considerably out-numbers this Society in Members: but there is no one which can produce better evidences of stability and prosperity, or which has greater reason to be satisfied with the estimation in which its works are regarded by the public. Amongst the Candidates for admission recently entered there are many Public Libraries and other bodies, whose desire to participate in the advantages of Membership indicates the reputation of the Society, both in this and other countries; and the prices maintained by our books when copies get abroad into the market, afford encouraging proof of the demand for them on the part of collectors and literary men. In four years the Society has issued eighteen volumes, all of them works excluded from the ordinary mode of publication, and yet worthy of being published, of eminent use to historical inquirers, and likely to retain a place in the permanent literature of the country.

The forthcoming works are fully calculated to maintain, if not to increase, the reputation of the Society, and the Council see no reason to doubt but that the Society may long usefully and prosperously retain its station, and the number of its Members.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS,

DATED 30TH APRIL, 1842.

WE, the Auditors appointed to audit the Accounts of the Camden Society, report to the Society, that the Treasurer has exhibited to us his accounts, from the 27th day of April, 1841, to the 30th day of April, 1842, and that we have examined the same, together with the vouchers relating thereto, and find the same to be correct and satisfactory.

And we further report that the following is a correct Abstract of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Society during the period to which we have referred.

An ABSTRACT of the RECEIPTS and EXPENDITURE of THE CAMDEN SOCIETY, from the 27th April, 1841, to the 30th April, 1842.

	Balance of last year's account	393	12	2
1841, April 27th, to 1842, April 30th.	Received on account of Subscriptions of members in arrear...	68	0	0
	The like on account of Subscriptions due 1st May, 1841	956	0	0
	Two half-year's dividends on £574. 13*s.* 8*d.* 3 per cent. consols, standing in the names of the Trustees for the Society	17	4	8
	Compositions received from six members .	60	0	0
	Total receipts for the year	£1,494	16	10

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Paid for the purchase of £166. 13*s.* 4*d.* 3 per cent. consols, invested for the benefit of the Society	150	0	0
Paid for printing and paper of 1,250 copies of "The Irish Narratives"	96	12	6
The like of "Walter Mapes"	277	15	0
The like of "Nicander Nucius"..	98	11	9
The like of "Metrical Romances"	109	12	0
Paid for binding copies of the past year's books, not before charged	3	6	0
The like for binding 1,200 copies of "The Irish Narratives"	48	0	0
The like for binding 1,200 copies of each of the three books published for this year	153	12	0
Paid for delivery and transmission of 1,200 copies of the "Irish Narratives," and of each of the three works for the present year —at 2*d.* per book, with paper for wrappers, expense of parcels, &c.	36	16	6
Paid for lithographic fac-simile, and printing paper for the same	5	4	0
Paid for transcripts and other expenses of a like kind, connected with works published and in progress	40	10	10
Paid for printing Reports, Lists of Members, Prospectuses, Circulars and other miscellaneous printing	32	5	0
Paid expenses of last general meeting........................	2	13	0
One quarter of a year's payment for keeping the Accounts and General Correspondence of the Society......................	13	2	6
Paid for stationery, postage, and various petty cash expenses....	15	3	9
Cash balance, viz. Sums remaining in hand for Compositions.......£ 30 0 0			
— From Subscriptions and other receipts.. 381 12 0			
	411	12	0
	£1,494	16	10

The Treasurer has also reported to us that the Secretary and himself have made arrangements by which they hope, during the ensuing year, almost, if not altogether, to get rid of all arrear of outstanding subscriptions. We trust that the Members will assist them in this very desirable object; and especially that Members resident in the country will transmit their subscriptions at once to the Treasurer by Post Office orders. The adoption of this course has been suggested by several of the Local Secretaries; and it is obvious that it will greatly lessen the troublesome and not very agreeable duties, which are thrown upon those officers by the present practice, will lessen the number of mistakes, and will greatly promote the prosperity of the Society.

Dated the 30th April, 1842.

(Signed) LANCELOT SHARPE.
B. CORNEY.

LAWS OF THE CAMDEN SOCIETY,

ADOPTED AT THE GENERAL MEETING, MAY 2, 1842.

I. THAT the Society shall be entitled "THE CAMDEN SOCIETY, for the Publication of Early Historical and Literary Remains."

II. That the objects of the Society shall be, First, the publication of inedited Manuscripts; Second, the reprinting of Works of sufficient rarity and importance to make Reprints desirable; and Third, the publication of Translations of Historical Works not previously rendered into English.

III. That the Society shall consist of One Thousand Two Hundred Members, being Subscribers of One Pound annually; such Subscription to be paid in advance, on or before the first day of May in every year.

IV. That the management of the affairs of the Society shall be vested in a President and a Council consisting of fifteen Members, which President and Council shall be elected annually by the Society at large, at a General Meeting to be held on the 2nd day of May, being the Anniversary of Camden's birth; or on the Monday following, when the 2nd of May shall happen to fall upon a Sunday.

V. That the President and Council shall, from amongst their own body, elect a Director, who shall act as Chairman of the Council, in the absence of the President, and also a Treasurer, and a Secretary.

VI. That the Accompts of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Society shall be audited annually by three Auditors, to be elected at the General Meetings, and that the Report of the Auditors, with an Abstract of the Accompts, shall be published.

VII. That the names of Members proposed to be elected as President, Council, and Auditors, shall be transmitted by the proposers to the Secretary, one fortnight before the General Meeting, and that notice of the persons so proposed shall be forwarded by the Secretary one week before the General Meeting, to all the Members residing within the limits of the Twopenny Post, and to all other Members who shall, in writing, request to receive the same.

VIII. That no Member shall be entitled to vote at any General Meeting whose Subscription is in arrear.

IX. That in every year one-fifth in number of the Council of the year preceding shall be ineligible for re-election; and that in case any Member of the Council shall not attend more than one-third of the number of Meetings of the Council, such Member shall be considered to be one of the retiring Members.

X. That in the absence of the President and Director, the Council at their Meetings shall elect a Chairman, who shall have a casting vote in case of equality of numbers, and shall also retain his right to vote upon all questions submitted to the Council.

XI. That the Funds of the Society shall be disbursed in payment of necessary expenses incident to the production of the Works of the Society, and that all other expenses shall be avoided as much as possible.

XII. That, after the Members of the Society shall have reached One

Thousand Two Hundred, vacancies in that number shall be filled up by the Council, from time to time as they occur.

XIII. That every Member not in arrear of his Annual Subscription, shall be entitled to One Copy of every Work published by the Society during that year.

XIV. That the Members shall be invited to contribute or recommend Works for publication.

XV. That Editors of Works printed by the Society shall be entitled to Twenty Copies of the Works they edit.

XVI. That the Council shall determine what number of copies of each Work shall be printed, and that the copies over and above those required by the Members shall be sold in such manner, and at such prices, as shall be fixed by the Council, the proceeds being carried to the account of the Society.

XVII. That the Publications of the Society shall all form separate and distinct Works, without any other connexion than that which must necessarily exist between the volumes of such Works as consist of several Volumes.

XVIII. That any Member of the Society may at any time compound for his future Annual Subscriptions, by payment of £10 over and above his Subscription for the current year.

XIX. That every Member of the Society who shall intimate to the Council his desire to withdraw from the same, or who shall not pay his Subscription for the current year within three Months after his Election, or after such Subscription shall have become due, shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

XX. That the Council may appoint Local Secretaries in such places, and with such authorities as to them shall seem expedient; every Local Secretary being a Member of the Society.

XXI. That no alteration shall be made in these Laws, except at a General Meeting, nor then, unless One Month's notice of any alteration intended to be proposed at such Meeting shall have been given in writing to the Secretary.

MEMBERS OF THE CAMDEN SOCIETY,

FOR THE

FOURTH YEAR, ENDING 2ND MAY, 1842.

Those Members to whose names (c.) *is prefixed have compounded for their Annual Subscriptions.*
The Members whose names are printed in Capitals were on the Council of the year.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD FRANCIS EGERTON, M.P. *President.*

H. R. H. THE DUKE OF SUSSEX, K.G., F.R.S. F.S.A.

THE MOST REV. AND RIGHT HON. THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD LYNDHURST, LL.D. F.R.S., LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR.

THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF NORTHAMPTON, D.C.L., PRES.R.S., F.S.A.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ABERDEEN, PRES.S.A., F.R.S.

Arthur Abbot, Esq. Exeter.

Abraham Abell, Esq. Cork.

Joseph Ablett, Esq. Llanbedr Hall, Ruthen.

Right Hon. Lord Viscount Acheson, M.P.

(c.) Sir Robert Shafto Adair.

John Adams, jun. Esq. M. A. Christ Church, Oxford.

John Adamson, Esq. Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle. *Local Secretary at Newcastle.*

Rev. James Adcock, M.A. Lincoln.

John Adolphus, Esq. F.S.A.

Professor Dr. Adrian, Librarian of the University of Giessen (Hesse Darmstadt).

John Yonge Akerman, Esq. F.S.A. Sec. Num. Soc.

(c.) Edward Nelson Alexander, Esq. F.S.A. *Local Secretary at Halifax.*

Robert Alexander, Esq. Q.C., F.R.S. F.S.A.

Robert Henry Allan, Esq. F.S.A. Treasurer of the Surtees Society. *Local Secretary at Durham.*

George Edward Allen, Esq. Bath.

John Allen, Esq.

Mr. William Allen.

Richard Almack, Esq. F.S.A. Long Melford, Suffolk.

The Vicomte Louis d'Armaille, Paris.

Thomas Frederick Hill Alms, Esq.

George Henry Ames, Esq. Cote House, near Bristol.

Samuel Amory, Esq.

THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F.R.S. Treas. S.A. *Director.*

A. P. Anderson, M.D.

Alexander Annand, Esq. F.S.A. Sutton, Surrey.

Thomas Chisholme Anstey, Esq.

Samuel Appleby, Esq. Gray's Inn.

George Appleyard, Esq.

Rev. Thomas Arnold, D.D. Head Master of Rugby School.

M. le Chevalier Artaud, Membre de l'Institut de France.

Robert John Ashton, Esq. F.L.S.

The Athenæum Club.

George James Aungier, Esq.

Benjamin Austen, Esq.

William Ayrton, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.

W. Scrope Ayrton, Esq. F.S.A. Barrister-at-Law.

James Bacon, Esq. Barrister-at-Law.

Thomas Bacon, Esq. Redlands, Reading.

Edward Badeley, Esq. F.S.A. Temple.

The Right Hon. Lord Bagot, LL.D., F.S.A.

James Evan Baillie, Esq.

George Baker, Esq. *Local Secretary at Northampton.*

Rev. Bulkeley Bandinel, D.D. Bodleian Librarian, Oxford.

George Banks, Esq. St. Catharine's, near Doncaster.

Rev. Richard H. Barham, B.A.

Benjamin Barnard, Esq.

John Barnard, Esq.

Alfred Brooke Barnes, Esq.

Keith Barnes, Esq.

Ralph Barnes, Esq. Exeter.

Charles Frederick Barnwell, Esq. M.A. F.R.S., F.S.A.

Rev. John Bartholomew, Morchant.

John Baron, Esq. M.D. F.R.S.

Mr. J. Bartlett, Blandford.

Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, F.R.S. and F.S.A.

R. R. Bayley, Esq.

Thomas Baylis, Esq, F.S.A. Prior's Bank, Fulham.

Rev. Thomas Vere Bayne, B.C.L. Warrington.

Edward Blake Beal, Esq.

Henry Ridley Beal, Esq.

Mr. Henry Mitchison Bealby.

John Beardmore, Esq.

Rev. Daniel Augustus Beaufort, A.M.

His Grace the Duke of Bedford.

Rev. Henry Bedford, Dunton Bassett.

The Bedford Permanent Library.

Alfred Beesley, Esq. Banbury.

James Bell, Esq.

Robert Bell, Esq. Advocate, Procurator for the Church of Scotland.

Thomas Bell, Esq. F.R.S. Professor of Zoology, King's College, Lond.

Charles Bellamy, Esq. D.C.L. Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

Samuel Beltz, Esq.

Mr. James Bennett, Tewkesbury.

Henry Bentley, Esq.

John Bentley, Esq. Birch House, near Bolton, Lancashire.

Michael Bentley, Esq.

Richard Bentley, Esq.

P. S. Benwell, Esq. Henley.

J. B. Bergne, Esq.

Samuel Berridge, Esq. Leicester.

(c.) The Rev. John Besly, D.C.L. Vicar of Benton, Northumberland.

J. Richard Best, Esq. Botley Grange, Southampton.

Sir William Betham, Ulster King at Arms, F.S.A. M. R. I. A., *Local Secretary at Dublin.*

Richard Bethell, Esq. M.P. Rise, near Beverley.

M. le Comte Arthur Beugnot, Membre de l'Institut de France.

John Bevan, Esq. Cowbridge.

La Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris.

Robert Bickersteth, Esq. Liverpool.

John Bidwell, Esq. F.S.A.

Leonard Shelford Bidwell, Esq. F.S.A. Thetford.

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